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**MOUSTACHIOED MEN AND MARATHON MOMS:  
THE MARKETING OF CANCER PHILANTHROPY**

by

Jenna Leigh Jacobson ©

B.A. Honours, The University of Western Ontario, 2009

**THESIS**

Submitted to the  
Department of Communication Studies  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

Master of Arts

Wilfrid Laurier University

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis is a theoretically based feminist critical analysis of the politics, problems, and differences around the philanthropy related to breast cancer in comparison to prostate cancer with a focus on the Canadian reality. It is an analysis of the leading national volunteer-based organization dedicated to breast cancer philanthropy: The Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation, and the only national foundation dedicated to the fight against prostate cancer: Prostate Cancer Canada. The concrete grounding is an in-depth analysis of the primary fundraising event for each charity: the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember Canada. Breast cancer and prostate cancer attack a victim's sense of gendered identity, and the CIBC Run for the Cure works to ensure a constructed femininity, and Movember works to ensure a constructed masculinity. To date, this thesis is the first academic analysis of Movember. By analyzing the history, the promotional videos, and the corporate support of each event, it was found that both organizations create groups that are expected to perform their femininity or masculinity at the expense of the other group: the CIBC Run for the Cure essentializes a constructed femininity and Movember performs masculinity while dismissing femininity. The CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember are embedded with sex-role stereotyping and gender essentialism, which reproduces the binaries of acceptable forms of femininity and masculinity, and perpetuate certain narratives at the expense of others.

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And my dad's never-ending confidence and support every step of the way.

Special thanks to my mom, my greatest fan and lowest paid editor, without her I would never be the academic or the person I am today.

Like a good runner, this thesis picked up pace and with some training, (mental) exercising, and exhaustion I have crossed the finish line.

Thank you to everyone who helped me get here.

## DEDICATION

To my moustachioed grandfather Ken, whose prostate cancer could never mask his masculinity and humour...



Kenneth Bert Solomon Jacobson

1924 – 2010

and to the unknown girl with brown hair.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a theoretically based feminist critical analysis of the politics, problems, and differences around the philanthropy related to breast cancer in comparison to prostate cancer in the Canadian context. The Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation, the leading national volunteer-based organization dedicated to breast cancer philanthropy, is critically compared to the only national foundation dedicated to the fight against prostate cancer: Prostate Cancer Canada. Both of these organizations are the most (financially) successful charitable organizations for breast cancer and prostate cancer in Canada. The primary fundraising event for each charity: the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember Canada (Movember) is analyzed to understand the charitable branding of gendered cancer philanthropy. This thesis provides the first academic analysis of Movember. As Movember is a relatively new charitable organization, a comparison with breast cancer philanthropy was conducted in order to contextualize the charitable branding of both.

The CIBC Run for the Cure is a one-day walkathon held in various cities around Canada where participants raise money for walking/running a predetermined 1- or 5-kilometre track. Movember is a month-long celebration when men grow moustaches during November to raise money and awareness for prostate cancer.

Over 100 years ago, Tocqueville, a famous political thinker and historian, observed, "...a seeming contradiction in American life: that Americans are simultaneously compassionate, civic-minded volunteers and rugged, do-it-yourselfer individualists" (as cited by Blackstone, 2004, p. 365). However, even if these two sets of characteristics are embodied in all people, the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember are each focusing on one

set of characteristics in their target audience. The CIBC Run for the Cure is geared towards the “compassionate” and “civic-minded” characteristics, versus the Movember advertising, which targets the “rugged” and “do-it-yourselfer” characteristics. Movember distances itself from the “other-oriented” characteristic of giving, which is often associated with femininity, and reinvents what it means to be a philanthropic subject. Just as these characteristics can be divided along charitable lines, they can also be divided by a traditional understanding of femininity and masculinity.

In an attempt to create brand differentiation, these two organizations have very different marketing approaches. An understanding of the charitable branding of the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember is gained in this thesis by analyzing the history of walkathons and the moustache, the promotional videos, and the corporate support. An analysis of the history of walkathons and the moustache shows that these charitable events do not appear in isolation, but have specific historical connotations and signification, which impacts the charitable branding of the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember. The promotional videos demonstrate that the marketing efforts of these organizations target men and women in gender specific ways. Finally, an analysis of the corporate support of the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember provides evidence that corporate support often masks the reality of the disease by focusing on the positive marketing.

A typical advertising strategy is the “What’s in it for me?” approach, which addresses the consumers’ need to recognize what they get out of the product (Woods, 1990). The “What’s in it for me?” question in the CIBC Run for the Cure is answered by emphasizing femininity and compassion, whereas the same question in Movember is answered by emphasizing masculinity and fun. The CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember seek to

reaffirm women's femininity and men's masculinity, respectively, through reiterated stereotyped gender norms that exist in each cancer culture. Consequently, this thesis proves that the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember are embedded with sex-role stereotyping and gender essentialism, which reproduces the binaries of acceptable forms of femininity and masculinity, and perpetuate certain narratives at the expense of others.

## **2. METHODOLOGY**

### **2.1 Research Questions and Objectives**

Charitable organizations often are immune to critical investigation because charities are considered inherently “good” due to the money that they raise for worthy causes. Academia is precisely the locale where unexamined ideologies should be examined and questioned in a scholarly manner. Various preliminary questions have been formulated in an attempt to uncover some of the issues that are often ignored because of the philanthropic orientation of the organizations. How are women and men given access to participate in the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember? Do the organizations expect/advertise a specific type of volunteer subject? How does the corporate support for the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember influence the philanthropic events and the marketing? Considering that the research will utilize an inductive approach, the bulk of the findings will emerge from the data itself resulting in further questions having to be explored during the research process.

The websites for the two organizations will be the primary sites of analysis. Prostate cancer and breast cancer were chosen as the focus for the comparative analysis because these cancers are so specifically gendered. Moreover, breast cancer is the most common cancer among Canadian women and women account for over 99 percent of the victims (“Breast cancer in Canada,” 2010, para. 1-4). Similarly, prostate cancer is the common cancer affecting Canadian men and, since prostate cancer is exclusively a male disease, men make up 100 percent of the victims (“Statistics,” 2010, para. 4).

The devastating statistics for the prevalence and death rates of breast cancer and prostate cancer are strikingly similar (See *Table 1*). However, most people have the cultural

misconception that breast cancer is much more prevalent and deadly than prostate cancer, which can be attributed to the dominant presence of breast cancer fundraising that has saturated cancer philanthropy and the relative dearth of prostate cancer fundraising.

Aside from the extremely high prevalence of these two cancers among Canadian women and men, the cancers also attack highly gendered parts of the female and male body: the breasts and the prostate. Furthermore, the decision to focus on the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember is due to the fact that these are the largest and most financially successful fundraising events in Canada for breast cancer and prostate cancer.

A virtual ethnography of the two websites will be conducted in order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the online spaces. Ethnography has significantly evolved from the research conducted in exotic, far-away places where a researcher would seek to explore a culture's entire way of life, to more specific ethnographic studies conducted on sub-cultures or specific groups that may be in nearby places. In her discussion of virtual ethnographies, Hine (2000) states, "Ethnography can therefore be used to develop an enriched sense of the meanings of the technology and the cultures which enable it and are enabled by it" (p. 8). Traditional ethnography, as well as virtual ethnography, provide a rich description of (cyber)space. An observational ethnography of the two spaces will be carried out, whereby the researcher will not be interacting with any specific people.

Virtual spaces can be explored like physical locales in the real world. The websites themselves cannot be conceived as banal, but crucial in shaping what is deemed permissible of philanthropic subjects. The focus of the study lies in the specific promotional materials online that entice people to join, participate, and stay connected in the campaigns.



In ethnography “...there are no distinct stages of theorizing, hypothesis construction, data gathering and hypothesis testing” (Walsh, 2004, p. 228). This research will employ an inductive research model whereby “the researcher is moving from the specifics of the data to the more general explanation of the theory” (Keyton, 2006, p. 18). In contrast, a deductive approach begins with a theory and then uses the evidence to assess whether the theory is correct (Keyton, 2006, p. 17). An inductive approach is preferable for this type of qualitative research project because ethnography requires the researcher to be immersed in the environment and the experience provides the specific data to be used for analysis that then works to build the theory.

Looking at the specific documents, images, and videos that the organizations produce is important to understand the type of representations that are being portrayed. The websites exist within the (online) public sphere: public consumption is where issues of gender often come to the forefront. The websites will be considered a place where the organizations produce material to articulate issues of gender, body, and relationships. It is hoped that the analysis will provide readers with the realization that the organizations (re)present much more than pure philanthropy.

## **2.2 Research Design**

The scope of the research will be focused on the CIBC Run for the Cure and the Movember websites, as well as the linking media, such as promotional videos on YouTube. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) suggest the use of the term “bricolage” in thinking about academic analysis, which represents the mandate of this research process. “The interpretive *bricoleur* produces a bricolage – that is, a pieced-together set of representations that is fitted to the specifics of a complex situation” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 5). The bricoleur uses

multiple standpoints, theories, realities, and representations in the theory of method. Rather than an attempt to capture objective reality, Denzin and Lincoln (2008) believe that the only thing that is possible is representations; these representations shape and create our understanding of reality. The two websites are representations of the ideology that the two organizations are perpetuating, which will be used to understand each organization's (re)presentation of reality.

The bricoleur as researcher does not merely utilize tools or methods because they are convenient, but rather the bricolage requires a systematic approach to data collection to ensure that the results reflect both validity and reliability. "Whereas reliability refers to 'internal' consistency in one's method, validity refers to the external of inferential value of one's research, given its theoretical context" (Bell, 2001, p. 27). Similar to most qualitative research, a multi-method approach will be utilized in an attempt to bolster validity and reliability.

I make no claims that the research results will be generalizable to anything outside of the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember; rather, what is sought is an in-depth comparative critical understanding of the two charities. The thesis is less concerned with probability sampling because I am not generating data, but rather gathering and interpreting data. Purposive sampling of the videos and text will be utilized with employment of typical case sampling and extreme case sampling where a background of past theoretical research will guide the selection of data.

A great deal of theoretically rich scholarly research has been considered in order to ground this research in a feminist perspective. A feminist perspective is employed because feminism specifically looks at the gendered power relations that often get ignored. Harding

(1987) describes a triad of characteristics that distinguish feminist research and these will be used to guide the research.

First, a focus on women's experiences: "Defining what is in need of scientific explanation only from the perspective of bourgeois, white men's experiences leads to partial and even perverse understandings of social life" (Harding, 1987, p. 7). However, there ought to be recognition that women's experiences need to be pluralized because there is no single woman's experience. The research will explicitly go against a totalizing view of women, as well as men, in order to escape the gender essentialism and production of binaries. Rather, the research is aimed at revealing the gendered ideologies behind the cancer philanthropy of the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember.

Second, feminists design research for women because traditional social science research has been for the benefit of men (Harding, 1987, p. 8). This thesis aims to specifically locate women at the forefront to consider the type of "woman" that is constructed by the CIBC Run for Cure and women's access to participate in Movember.

Finally, the researcher must have reflexivity rather than objectivity by placing the researcher in the same critical plane as the subject matter. Harding (1987) states, "The class, race, culture and gender assumptions, beliefs and behaviours of the researcher her/himself must be placed within the frame of the picture that she/he attempts to paint" (p. 9). A balanced perspective is sought in the research; however, I am well aware of the impossibility of a neutral observation free from bias. Due to the fact that I am an educated, Caucasian, upper-middle-class woman born outside of Canada situates me in a specific context that will no doubt inform the research. Consequently, a multi-method approach that relies on reflexivity is utilized in order to substantiate the analysis.

The analysis of the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember will rely on a feminist critical discourse analysis (CDA). Lazar (2007) states that feminist critical discourse analysis "...aims to advance a rich and nuanced understanding of the complex workings of power and ideology in discourse in sustaining (hierarchical) gendered social arrangements" (p. 141). This thesis will seek to uncover the gender ideologies that are implicit in the two cancer discourses, which is motivated by recognizing and changing the existing gendered conditions. Hamilton (2002) states, "Critical communication seeks both to engage critically with existing social relations and to change those relations" (p. 16). The scholarship in this thesis will utilize a critical approach that analyzes the gendered power structure that exists within the two philanthropic organizations: the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember. "The interest of feminist CDA lies in how gender ideologies and gendered relations of power get (re)produced, negotiated, and contested..." (Lazar, 2007, p. 150). The CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember will be the site of analysis where gender relations and gendered ideologies are explored.

All of the seemingly interconnected types of data analysis were once considered separately: semioticians would only analyze semiotics, visual analysis would only be interested in images, etcetera. Today, however, there is more fluidity between the types of research as researchers are interested in using a cross-section of different tools and methods for data analysis. Similarly, feminist critical discourse analysis also examines visual images. "Increasingly in CDA research, language is critically analysed together with other semiotic modalities like visual images, layouts, gestures, and sounds, which makes for an enriching and insightful analysis" (Lazar, 2007, p. 144).

A visual analysis, either considered *apart* or *a part* of feminist critical discourse analysis, will be explored on the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember websites. Both of the campaigns rely on the utilization of images and videos on the websites. An analysis of the promotional videos using Stuart Hall's (2001) understanding of encoding and decoding will be useful in exploring the power structures. Hall (2001) states, "The terms 'denotation' and 'connotation', then, are merely useful analytic tools for distinguishing, in particular contexts, between not the presence/absence of ideology in language but the different levels at which ideologies and discourses intersect" (p. 171). Beyond a mere semiotic analysis, a social semiotic analysis will be conducted to further interpret the images (See Jewitt & Oyama, (2001), and Kress & Van Leeuwen, (1996)). Jewitt and Oyama (2001) repeatedly state, "Social semiotics is not an end in itself. It is meant as a tool for use in critical research" (p.136), and "...visual social semiotics by itself is not enough" (p. 138). These statements support the need for a multi-method approach whereby each method adds a piece to the puzzle under analysis, but all the pieces are needed to recognize the whole.

A visual analysis of the 2007, 2008, and 2009 promotional videos for the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember will be conducted in order to understand the occurrence of various images. The analysis begins in 2007 because this is the first year that Movember was in Canada, and the analysis ends in 2009 because at the time of writing the promotional videos for Movember for 2010 had yet to be released. In conclusion, all three of the methods (description/observation, critical discourse analysis, and visual analysis) will be used in the bricolage to comprehend a more complete analysis of the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember.

## **2.3 Ethical Considerations**

Considering that the research for this thesis is based on publicly available information accessed through the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember public websites, there is no requirement for ethics approval. The research will not involve interactions with human subjects; however, the scope of the research requires an ethical consideration. Utilizing charitable organizations as the sites of analysis may have ethical implications that need to be considered preemptively, reflexively, as well as at the end of the research process. I have received formal training on ethical consideration and therefore recognize that ethical implications extend beyond mere human subjects.

It is exceedingly difficult to critically analyze philanthropic organizations that are raising money and awareness for much-needed causes. In Canada, the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember are the most financially effective fundraisers for breast cancer and prostate cancer, respectively. However, just because an organization is raising money for a worthy cause is not a reason to avoid a critical analysis of their fundraising efforts. In fact, too often a blind eye is turned on the operations of charitable organizations precisely because it may be considered socially incorrect to criticize a “good” cause.

Despite the high improbability, it is possible that the public’s awareness of the gender-specific problems of these charities would result in a backlash or boycott against the charitable organizations. However, there is little need to worry about a negative backlash considering the history of critique around the pink ribbon campaign and other charitable causes. Given the sensitive nature of the research topic, care will be taken to reduce possible unintended consequences. The research is in no way intended to encourage people to not donate time or money to the CIBC Run for the Cure or Movember. The research should also

not be considered an attack on the employees who work for the organizations. Rather, the critique will provide an academic analysis that will aim to offer a balanced and fair perspective of the two charitable fundraisers.

### **3. LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

While there is a plethora of books and academic studies that examine the politics of breast cancer activism, there is a dearth of comparative academic research that analyzes fundraising surrounding breast cancer and prostate cancer. In fact, prostate cancer as a fundraising venture is newly developed in Canada, and consequently there is very little academic research on this topic. Scholarly research often focuses on phenomena when they are at the height of their popularity, or once the popularity of the issue has started to wane. With this in mind, this thesis seeks to be a founding theoretically based feminist critical analysis of the politics, problems, and differences around the philanthropy related to breast cancer in comparison to prostate cancer.

Recognizing that almost all research has been focused on the United States, the thesis will focus on the Canadian reality by analyzing the leading national volunteer-based organization dedicated to breast cancer philanthropy: The Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation, and the only national foundation dedicated to the fight against prostate cancer: Prostate Cancer Canada. The concrete grounding of the research will involve an in-depth analysis of the primary fundraising event for each charity: the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember.

Considering that breast cancer and prostate cancer are believed to attack a victim's sense of gendered identity, this thesis will analyze the relationship between the CIBC Run for the Cure and a constructed femininity, and Movember and a constructed masculinity. The hypothesis of this research is that the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember seek to



reaffirm women's femininity and men's masculinity, respectively, through reiterated stereotyped gender norms that exist in each cancer culture.

The argument will be constructed by critically analyzing the official websites of both organizations and the official YouTube videos in an attempt to understand the current Canadian cancer fundraising landscape and how it shapes participants' and onlookers' identities.

The meanings and representations of the philanthropy surrounding breast cancer and prostate cancer need to be analyzed from a variety of perspectives in order to understand the significance of this topic. This thesis will draw from the intersection of five distinct, but interconnected features that provide the theoretical base for the study: 1) understanding gender performativity as that which is constantly constructed and fluid; 2) understanding the body as a site of meaning and the way illness and the body collide and coexist; 3) understanding the historical and contemporary debates surrounding the cancer campaigns; 4) understanding the corporate support surrounding each cancer culture; and 5) understanding how technology has been used in gender-specific ways. These five issues will consequently inform how the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember each actively construct the gendered identity of participants and onlookers.

### **3.2 Gender Performativity**

Various theorists suggest that gender cannot be understood in binary terms of masculinity and femininity and have taken up the denaturalization of gender and sex. Many post-structuralist theorists question the relationship between biological sex and socially constructed gender and assert that this line is much more fluid than fixed. Gender performativity will be a fundamental theory utilized in understanding how gender is created

and subsequently performed through participation in the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember.

Using feminist and queer theory, Judith Butler takes the critique of sex and gender a step further in her post-structuralist work on troubling the belief of a naturalized gendered identity. Butler is recognized as the most prominent scholar on gender performativity whose work draws from a Lacanian and Foucauldian perspective. Rather than understanding gender as a natural phenomenon that is intrinsic in male and female bodies, gender is a performance that one is habitually taught to perform. According to Butler (1999), “...performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body, understood, in part, as a culturally sustained temporal duration” (p. xv). Gender is produced by what one *does* in specific acts, rather than a reflection of *who* one is. It is through this constant performance that “...dominant and nondominant gender norms are equalized” (Butler, 2004, p. 209).

An understanding of gender can never be considered as a fixed attribute, but rather as fluid and continually shaped by the perpetual performance of one’s expected gender. Gender can be understood as socially constructed and that which is continually played out in the social world. Theories of gender performativity will be fundamental to understanding how men and women attain a sense of gendered identity and how that gendered identity is threatened, as well as performed through participation in the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember.

Breast cancer can be understood as a disease that attacks a woman’s sense of femininity: losing her hair during chemotherapy and breasts through mastectomy. Similarly, prostate cancer can be understood as a threat to a man’s sense of his masculinity: the

prostate is responsible for making part of the seminal fluid that is ejaculated in sexual activities. Both diseases attack victims' sense of gendered identity; however, what is often left out of the analysis is the fact that breast cancer and prostate cancer are not binary diseases that attack men or women. Prostate cancer is a completely male-specific disease, but breast cancer is not a gender-specific disease. The identity of the breast cancer victim is much more fluid because men are also victims of breast cancer who endure similar, but not identical, hardships to female victims of breast cancer.

Men and women do not have the exact same relationship to breast cancer because the common symptoms, diagnostic methods, treatment of breast cancer, and psychological effects vary between men and women (Bunkley, Robinson, Bennett, & Gordon, 2000, p. 91). Bunkley et al. (2000) conducted a scientific analysis of breast cancer in men with an emphasis on qualitative methodology. Of interest is the discourse analysis of the psychological effects on men's gendered identity when diagnosed with breast cancer. The overwhelming belief that breast cancer is a gender-specific disease creates the psychological effect of "feminizing" men, where "...he may view himself as being less of a man for having this 'woman's disease'" (Bunkley et al., 2000, p. 94). In a similar way that breast cancer is perceived as threatening a woman's womanhood as they feel sexless/genderless, men have their masculinity threatened because they feel feminized.

Bunkley et al. (2000), do not consider how it is possible for breast cancer to threaten both a man's masculinity and woman's femininity as an understanding of one's gendered identity, nor is there much of a focus on the breast cancer fundraising campaigns that foster an environment of "sisterhood" that excludes men. Furthermore, the article is missing a theoretical framework that would allow for a discussion of how masculinity is threatened by

male breast cancer. Despite these shortfalls, the article provides a useful base on which to consider the psychological implications of male breast cancer as threatening masculinity. Interestingly, the risk factors for breast cancer in men include "...testicular atrophy, undescended testis, late puberty and infertility" (Bunkley et al., 2000, p. 94), which suggests that some male breast cancer victims have had prior experiences that are perceived as a threat to their masculinity, and these gendered worries may be intensified when a man is diagnosed with breast cancer.

Breast cancer and prostate cancer are socially constructed to be gender-specific diseases that have identity implications for men and women who are diagnosed. In this way, a person's relationship to their gendered identity is challenged and is changed through the process of becoming a cancer victim. How a person chooses to confront this crisis in identity can be understood using gender performativity as a theoretical construct. Gender performativity will be utilized as an important theoretical construct that will inform the analysis of how gender is performed in the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember. The thesis will utilize a post-structuralist understanding of gender as that which is fluid and that which is constantly performed. This performance is exaggerated when men and women suffer from breast cancer and prostate cancer because the diseased body parts are perceived as highly gendered. From the limited academic work that analyzes prostate cancer campaigns, none reflect the possibilities of gender performance. From the immense scholarly work on breast cancer campaigns, there is little focus on theories of gender performativity; rather, the focus tends to be on the campaigns themselves.

### 3.3 Body and Illness

The relationship between the body, illness, and identity has been studied in various ways in an attempt to gain a greater understanding of how illness in the body de- and re-constructs identity. Very often, however, the body, illness, and identity are studied in isolation, which provides no insight into their intersection with one another. The body is crucial to the construction of one's self-identity, yet is frequently left out of analyses of cancer. For example, as discussed in Chapter 3.2, the role that breasts play in men's breast cancer is significant because of a man's relationship with his body and the feminized body part: breasts.

Understanding risk perception and worry are the first steps to understanding how illness affects the body and identity. Certain types of people are more prone to illness, not merely because of hereditary factors, but also social factors that either encourage or discourage a person from receiving regular health check-ups by health professionals. Using a positivist perspective, McQueen and Vernon (2008) studied the differences between men and women's risk perceptions and worry about cancer, and analyzed what types of cancer men and women respectively worry about, as well as, the gendered differences of the level of risk perceptions and worry. This study supports previous research findings that women tend to worry more about the risk of developing cancer in comparison to men (McQueen & Vernon, 2008, p. 59).

Writing from a black lesbian feminist theoretical perspective, Lorde (1980) chronicles her experience of breast cancer and mastectomy in her seminal book, *The Cancer Journals*. Lorde (1980) states, "As women we were raised to fear...I write so much here about fear because in shaping this introduction to *The Cancer Journals*, I found fear laid

across my hands like a steel bar” (p. 15). Women are socially taught to fear, which may be related to the stereotype of women as emotional.

As exemplified by Lorde (1980), McQueen and Vernon’s (2008) findings appear to correspond with the stereotype of women as more worrisome than men; however, the true insight in McQueen and Vernon’s (2008) study is that gender-specific cancers – breast cancer and prostate cancer – evoked more perceived risk and worry than non-gender-specific cancers among both men and women (p. 69). The authors suggest, “...individuals may perceive greater risk of gender-specific cancers because of salient, gender-specific physical attributes (e.g., breasts) that may play a larger role in one’s self-image and self-identity compared with less salient, non-gender-specific physical attributes (e.g., colon)” (McQueen & Vernon, 2008, p. 69).

These authors allude to self-identity, but do not discuss the reasoning or implications that gender-specific physical attributes play in the gendering of identities and how an illness, like cancer, attacks a victim’s gendered identity. Nor is there any discussion of the alternative factors that would account for women’s perceived risk of breast cancer and men’s perceived risk of prostate cancer, such as the gender-specific fundraising campaigns that specifically target men and women. The fact that breasts are considered gender-specific to women encourages men to believe that breast cancer is a disease that solely attacks women.

Breast cancer is considered a woman’s disease as women make up 99% of all breast cancer cases (Robinson, Metoyer Jr., & Bhayani, 2008, p. 134), and many people are unaware that men can even get breast cancer. The assumption of breast cancer being a woman’s disease has had a profound impact on men with breast cancer. Using a critical

theoretical perspective, Robinson et al. (2008) analyze a topic that often gets ignored in campaigns and academic writing of breast cancer - men. The article demonstrates the medical similarities of the disease in both men and women, such as the survival rates, symptoms, treatment, and recovery. However, the lack of information and awareness of breast cancer in men has led to men who are struggling with breast cancer (a “female disease”), feeling a level of shame and embarrassment.

Breasts are not just feminine body parts: “Male breasts (or more commonly called, pecs) are viewed by most men in today’s society as a symbol of masculinity and strength” (Robinson et al., 2008, p. 136). Consequently, breast cancer and male mastectomy threatens a male’s sense of gendered identity. Robinson et al. (2008) stop short of paralleling this situation with a woman’s sense of lost femininity when a woman undergoes mastectomy. The breasts cannot be understood as a feminized body part without recognizing that the social constructed meaning of breasts is much more fluid: men associate their “pecs” with masculinity. What is missing from the article is a discussion of how the body comes to be regarded as a site of gendered identity, which is threatened when the body needs to be transformed from its natural form.

Specific parts of the body are considered the host of femininity and masculinity. McQueen and Vernon (2008) identified the importance of gender-specific body parts to identity, but do not consider what Manderson and Stirling (2007) address: how does one relate when that gender-specific body part is removed. Rather than a comparative study, Manderson and Stirling (2007) concentrate on women. Women undergoing mastectomy often feel a specific link between their breasts, their sense of feminine identity, and their understanding of self. Using discourse analysis and a social constructivist theoretical

perspective, Manderson and Stirling (2007) address what no other scholarly research has addressed by paying attention to the difficulty women experience talking about their breast(s) after they have been removed. Even though the breast is at the centre of breast cancer, Manderson and Stirling (2007) point to the breast as a site of importance that is often ignored.

Rather than feeling “healed” on the last day of treatment, survivors are forced to live with a visual reminder of the disease in their disfigured breast (Manderson & Stirling, 2007, p. 76). Manderson and Stirling (2007) suggest, “In its distortion and asymmetry, the torso is a constant reminder of the relationship of the body to self-image, gender identity and sexual expression...” (p. 76). A woman’s identity is transformed with the removal of her breast; in fact, the women in the study spoke of their breasts as “I,” which demonstrates their understanding of their breasts as the marker of femininity and identity (Manderson & Stirling, 2007, p. 82). Post-mastectomy, women in the study felt like “half a woman,” which demonstrates the belief that femininity does not lie in the breast, but in the presence of two breasts where each breast connotes half-femininity (Manderson & Stirling, 2007, p. 82). Women who opted to have reconstructive surgery expressed “feeling like a monster” with a missing breast (Manderson & Stirling, 2007, p. 85). The monstrous feeling was not due to the physical disfigurement of the breast because the chest is often covered; rather, the monstrous feeling is related to the fact that a woman knows that she does not have two breasts and therefore feels that she is not a “woman.” The concept of the monster comes into being when one transgresses the lines of normalcy. Frankenstein, mummies, Dracula, and vampires are monsters because they are part-human and part something else. In the case



of the woman who has a “missing” breast, she becomes monstrous by virtue of not being fully feminine.

Manderson and Stirling (2007) did not discuss coping mechanisms aside from reconstructive surgery. Reconstructive surgery can be considered a radical type of gender performance whereby the prosthetic limb is like a prop that helps a woman perform her femininity. Every woman, even women who do not undergo reconstructive surgery, are always assuming some type of gender performance, but the choice to have reconstructive surgery on the breast is more of a physical manifestation of the desire to perform what it means to be a “woman.”

Like female breast cancer victims, men who undergo prostatectomy experience side-effects post-surgery; however, their physical external body is left intact after surgery because the prostate is located within the body. The various side effects, such as the inability to ejaculate, are a significant threat to male sexual and gender identity. This thesis will seek to fill the gap and provide a critical analysis of how gender performativity may play into men’s and women’s experience with breast and prostate cancer within cancer philanthropy.

Cancer is a disease that attacks and consumes the body. Not only is a person’s health diminished, but so is their sense of gendered identity that is associated with the body. Beyond reconstructive surgery, people who experience cancer often work to have their identity restored through various arenas. The CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember are two fundraising events that focus on the body as site of change: people in the CIBC Run for the Cure wear pink attire, and people participating in Movember grow a moustache. The physical transformation in the fundraising events can be understood as an attempt to regain

control of one's identity and body, and assert/transform/re-articulate one's gendered identity.

### **3.4 Cancer Campaigns**

The overwhelming message from the breast cancer culture is that for every woman who runs, every pink pin that is worn, and every dollar that is raised, "we" are one step closer to a cure for breast cancer. Breast cancer campaigns have such an overwhelming presence in social life that pink itself has become synonymous with breast cancer. The breast cancer campaign fosters an environment of sisterhood and cheerfulness, which has allowed women to come forth and raise awareness, and funds, for breast cancer in a very feminine way.

Great strides have been made in the breast cancer movement, which is outlined by Klawiter (2004) in her analysis of the culture surrounding breast cancer in the 1970s, as compared to the 1990s. Klawiter (2004) writes from a Foucauldian theoretical perspective in understanding the concept of "disease regime," but departs from Foucault's totalizing view of power to understand disease regimes as being situated in multiple institutions (Klawiter, 2004, p. 850). Tracing the narrative of a single breast cancer survivor, Klawiter (2004) explores the impact that social movements have had on the breast cancer regime by specifically looking at women's experiences of being diagnosed with breast cancer.

Instead of cancer being closeted and a source of embarrassment for women as it was in the 1970s, organizations dedicated to breast cancer have worked to celebrate female survivors' "beauty, strength and enduring femininity" (Klawiter, 2004, p. 847), where the breast cancer "victims" have become breast cancer "survivors." Due to the mainstream breast cancer awareness movement, Klawiter (2004) notes, "The public image of the new

breast cancer survivor, unlike the victim of yesteryear, was a woman whose femininity, sexuality and desirability were intact” (p. 848). The importance of Klawiter’s (2004) work lies in the historical tracing of the breast cancer culture which is much more optimistic today than it was in the past, due to the emergence of social movements. This optimism is internalized by the women and performed by the organizations.

The emergence of the public identity of breast cancer victims is no doubt more beneficial to cancer patients than the closeting of the disease in the past, but Klawiter (2004) does not address how the new collective identity of breast cancer “survivor” compels a woman with cancer to conform to the standards of the breast cancer cult(ure), so that a victim cannot be angry or saddened, but rather is expected to always be cheerful. The optimism in the breast cancer movement is not only made up of real changes, like more effective screening technologies and less toxic treatments, but also by social changes like the “pinking” of the breast cancer movement.

Samantha King is one of the most prominent scholars who critiques the reality of pink ribbon campaigns. In her book *Pink Ribbons Inc.: Breast Cancer and the Politics of Philanthropy*, King (2006) challenges characteristics of the breast cancer movement and paints a picture of pink ribbon politics that is not quite so rosy. “Doing Good by Running Well: Breast Cancer, the Race for the Cure, and New Technologies of Ethical Citizenship” is a chapter in the book that provides a provocative and critical analysis of the volunteerism and philanthropy surrounding breast cancer, specifically the Susan G. Komen Race for the Cure. The Susan G. Komen Race for the Cure is the largest single fundraiser for breast cancer in the United States and is very similar to the CIBC Run for the Cure in Canada.

Utilizing feminist theory that privileges lived experience, dialogue, reflexivity, and gender, King (2003) bases her analysis on the Tenth Anniversary National Race for the Cure in Washington D.C., in 1999. The chief argument by King (2003) is "...that as a fundraising venture, a marketing enterprise, a practice and site of consumption, a physical activity, a collective experience, a mass movement, and a pedagogical tool, the Race for the Cure is a technology of power, or a set of practices and discourses, that has constitutive power" (p. 296). Drawing on Foucault's understanding of the mechanism of governance, King (2003) argues that the Race for the Cure shapes identities, creates political subjects, and produces specific truths about breast cancer (p. 296).

The new ideal of citizenship requires that good citizens actively participate in volunteerism, rather than only donating money; however the type of volunteerism is socially dictated. King (2003) describes this phenomenon as "the logic of citizenship-through-volunteerism" (p. 306). Rather than embracing one's citizenship through an active struggle, "the preferred ideal is to work upon one's self and one's community based upon a vision of America as a classless, colorblind, ungended nation whose survival depends on personal acts of volunteerism, charity, and unpaid service to one's fellow citizens" (King, 2003 p. 306). Consequently, people are not asked to question the system of governance or overarching structural systems; instead, people are asked to work within the problematic and preexisting structures to enact change (hence governmentality). In neoliberal societies, there is an illusion of choice that serves to totalize the population.

Participation in both physical and purchasing activities is only permissible if it is conducted under the "correct" pretenses; people have internalized the logic of what it means to be a good citizen. The breast cancer walkathons follow the governmental logic beginning

in the 1980s that self-responsibility is directed through personal philanthropy rather than political agitation. King (2003) provides an excellent critical analysis of the pink ribbon politics in the U.S., but does not focus on the Canadian reality, nor does her research cover prostate cancer. However, King's (2003) work does point to the creation of a specific type of breast cancer patient: feminine and active in the breast cancer campaign.

Not only is there is a specific type of philanthropic body that is regulated, but there is a specific type of breast cancer patient who is constructed in the media and in the breast cancer campaigns: the woman with breast cancer is portrayed as the "survivor." Dubriwny (2008) argues that breast cancer is culturally constructed through the discursive constructs and the media. Drawing from a Gramscian tradition that recognizes the construction of a hegemonic understanding of breast cancer, Dubriwny (2008) performs a rhetorical analysis of the news coverage of Betty Ford's radical mastectomy (p. 109). Ford, wife of former President Gerald Ford, was constructed as the "ideal breast cancer patient," which has strongly influenced victims' understanding and the public's expectation of a breast cancer survivor: "She is universally applauded for her strength and courage before and after surgery, her daily progress recuperating and regaining movement, her devotion to her family and the nation, and generally speaking, her strong spirit in the face of adversity" (Dubriwny, 2008, p. 110).

Ford was constructed as the ideal patient, as well as the ideal woman, through her physical body not being overweight, her submission to doctor's orders, her care for her family, and her optimism, which allowed her to maintain her femininity in the public eye (Dubriwny, 2008, p. 114). Ford is responsible for the construction of the overly optimistic and cheerful patient, which still lingers today. Rather than being silent, Ford added another

layer to the identity of the breast cancer victim as one who raised awareness about the disease: "...Ford's advocacy of breast cancer awareness reaffirm her symbolic womanhood by broadening her role of mother to apply to the nation, her larger family" (Dubriwny, 2008, p. 116). The breast cancer patient is required to not only care for herself, but also care for all women, which puts tremendous pressure on women to conform to the breast cancer culture.

The historical rhetorical analysis of how Betty Ford created the concept of the ideal breast cancer patient is tied to a traditional understanding of womanhood. Very little has changed in the depiction and expectation of the female breast cancer survivor. Due to the popularity of breast cancer as a charitable cause, the founding construction of the breast cancer victim has been analyzed repeatedly throughout academic literature; however, the construction of the prostate cancer victim is still being constructed and has consequently not been analyzed with any scholarly rigour.

The discourse surrounding the ideal breast cancer survivor has been incorporated into fundraising campaigns, as well as political campaigns. Using an interpretivist theoretical perspective and a feminist methodology, Montini (1996) analyzes the role that gender and emotion play in a political setting involving breast cancer informed consent laws where female activists embraced gendered stereotypes to achieve their goals. "[Women] attempted to use gender stereotypes to their advantage, presenting an aggrieved, feminine, emotional self..." in need of protection (Montini, 1996, p. 20). Montini (1996) believes that the activists' creation and management of a "credible feminine presentation of self" in fact thwarted their activist efforts because of the general devaluation of emotion in Western society (p. 20). For female activists to be politically effective they have to subscribe to a presentation of "feminized" self, which demonstrates the success of using gender

stereotypes to perform feminine identity; examples include the endless supply of pink products, such as pink cause-related jewellery, clothing, and make-up.

Montini (1996) concludes, “The efforts of these former breast cancer patients demonstrate the extent to which women continue to be damned if we do gender and damned if we don’t” (p. 21). The perpetuation of the infantile and feminine breast cancer victim was utilized to achieve the activist goals of passing the breast cancer informed consent laws, and was attained by the performance of an overt femininity. Montini (1996) does not deal with this topic by addressing theories of gender performativity, nor does she directly address theories of masculinity and femininity. However, women’s conscious decision to play on the gender stereotypes to achieve their goals is useful in demonstrating the extent to which the discourse surrounding the ideal breast cancer patient has become ingrained in the breast cancer patients themselves and the lack of critical analysis surrounding this problematic identity.

Not only is the construction of the feminine breast cancer patient used in political arenas, but it has also been adopted in popular culture. Due to the various mainstream movements that have raised awareness about breast cancer, it is not surprising that breast cancer has appeared in the narratives of prime-time television. Using a content analysis, Fernández-Morales (2009) analyzes two highly popular female-oriented shows, *Sex and the City* and *Desperate Housewives*. In both of the shows’ storylines, the plot revolves around issues of female friendships and one of the main characters in each of the shows develops breast cancer. Fernández-Morales (2009) found, “... the protagonists reinforce the idea that, for a woman (and a sick one at that), the support and love of her girlfriends can be as important as her biological family’s or her romantic partner’s” (p. 678). Breast cancer is

framed as that which is best dealt with by groups of women in an act of sisterhood because breast cancer is considered a woman's disease.

In the unsettled media debate, it is difficult to determine whether the appearance of something in the media affects reality or whether reality effects the portrayal of events in the media. Either way, the presence of a breast cancer narrative entering into the realm of popular culture television is testament to the popular appeal of breast cancer narratives. Interestingly, Fernández-Morales (2009) discovered that humour was used as a tool that allows women to participate in a process that grants legitimacy to the cancer stories (p. 688). However, the author neglects to note the difference in the utilization of humour in the television shows versus the absence of humour in breast cancer campaigns. Humour is generally not used by breast cancer awareness campaigns, which tend to opt for a more emotional and empowering message rather than a humorous one.

In contrast, prostate cancer is often approached in a humorous way in an attempt to de-stigmatize the male disease. In a study using semi-structured interviews that analyze the factors that affect men's help-seeking in the detection of prostate cancer, George and Fleming (2004) found, "the strategy of humour was used to dilute their embarrassment or divert attention away from sensitive issues" (p. 347). In discussions of prostate cancer, men used humour because being concerned about one's health was considered to be a feminine trait by men (George & Fleming, 2004, p. 350). Fernández-Morales (2009) found that women used humour in television shows to discuss breast cancer, while George and Fleming (2004) found that men used humour to discuss prostate cancer in real life. What is missing is a comparative analysis of how humour is used in cancer fundraising campaigns.



The role of humour and emotion in breast cancer fundraisers versus prostate cancer fundraisers is an issue that will be further explored in Chapter 6.5.

A study by Clarke (2004) comparing the depictions of breast, testicular, and prostate cancer in mass print media from 1996 to 2001 found similar results in the use of humour as George and Fleming (2004). Using content analysis, Clarke (2004) analyzes both the latent and manifest content of the articles and the construction of the diseases as associated with masculinity and femininity in specifically gendered terms. The findings showed that articles dealing with testicular cancer tended to use humour that showed the embarrassment men face regarding the location of the disease (Clarke, 2004, p. 546), and prostate cancer articles presented a common theme of competition with breast cancer (Clarke, 2004, p. 548). Furthermore, breast cancer articles were primarily focused on the women diagnosed with breast cancer who questioned their femininity, rather than humour (Clarke, 2004, p. 546).

The articles surveyed consistently portrayed stereotypical presentations of gender, which Clarke (2004) suggests may both repel and attract victims from identification with the disease because of the narrow portrayal of the disease (p. 549). People have been socialized to accept a specific representation of the cancer patient. The article concludes, "...to be a woman is to be vulnerable to breast cancer and to be a man is to be vulnerable to testicular and then, when older, prostate cancers and their attendant fearsome treatments" (Clarke, 2004, p. 550). This may account for the reason participation in breast cancer fundraisers is so popular among women, and why men tend to support prostate cancer fundraisers. This conclusion provides an important observation on the gendered construction of people without cancer in relation to the gendered cancer.

From the changes in the breast cancer culture over time, to the construction of the philanthropic volunteer and “the ideal breast cancer patient,” to women performing their femininity in political activism and on television, to the use of humour, to the specific representations of the cancer patient, there is a tremendous amount of scholarly work on various components of the cancer culture. There is very little research on the subject of prostate cancer campaigns, despite the recent appearance of campaigns like Movember. A focus on the scholarly research on breast cancer campaigns provides a solid understanding of the current situation of breast cancer culture, but also the direction of future prostate cancer campaigns because they are trying to mimic the strategies and success of breast cancer philanthropy. An understanding of the gendered aspects of how identity is constructed by the charitable organizations is analyzed in this thesis by focusing on the practices within the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember.

### **3.5 Corporate Support**

Even though participants in fundraisers raise a great deal of money, philanthropic organizations rely on corporate support for large donations. Breast cancer campaigns have experienced strong corporate support, in comparison to the weak corporate support for prostate cancer campaigns. Understanding how corporations address people as citizens and consumers is important to the constructed identity of the gendered consumer. Consumers support companies that exhibit corporate responsibility, because customers “...are willing to use their individual power to punish those companies who do not share their values” (Kedrowski & Sarow, 2007, p. 187). Consequently, companies have learned that it pays to be aligned with a non-profit organization because it builds morale in the companies and boosts sales; furthermore, corporate philanthropy makes a company seem compassionate

and socially relevant. However, not all charitable organizations are considered equally advantageous for corporations.

*Cancer Activism* by Kedrowski and Sarow (2007), which uses a historical approach combining content analysis and critical theory, is the first book that compares the breast cancer and prostate cancer movements; however, they do not analyze Movember, the newest and largest developing prostate cancer fundraising event. Kedrowski and Sarow (2007) outline how corporate support can take three forms: corporate foundations, sponsorships, and cause-related marketing. Corporate foundations serve as a channel for a percentage of corporate profits and outside donations to be directed towards non-profit activities; for example, Avon manages its involvement in breast cancer using the Avon Foundation Breast Cancer Crusade. The second type of corporate support is sponsorships: financial backing by a corporation usually for single events or activities; for example, the Canadian Club sponsorship of Movember is a one-time donation that goes toward the event. The last type of corporate support is cause-related marketing: a more direct relationship between a for-profit corporation and a non-profit organization where a certain percentage of sales of a particular product are donated to the cause (Kedrowski & Sarow, 2007, p. 189); for example, Nestlé Real Dairy ice cream donates 10 cents to the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation for every specially marked pink pack of Nestlé Real Dairy ice cream sold in stores. In all three types of corporate support, for-profit companies try to distinguish themselves from the thousands of other companies that offer similar products by attaching a positive connotation to their product in an attempt to gain more of the market share.

Marketing experts carefully calculate the selection of what non-profit organization a company should align itself with because of the high stakes involved. In 1997, the *New York*

*Times Magazine* cover story declared that breast cancer was “This Year’s Hot Charity” (as cited by King, 2003, p. 295). In the same way that every season brings a new fashion trend, there also appears to be seasonal charitable trends; however, prostate cancer is yet to be considered a trendy cause.

The life span of a charity’s popularity does not depend on the “need” or urgency of the cause, but rather is kept alive by corporate desire and subsequent media awareness. Some causes have more “resale” value than others because specific causes are considered more suitable to be packaged and sold by for-profit corporations; some causes are intrinsically “safer” than others. Breast cancer is a very “safe” cause that continues to be a “hot charity,” versus prostate cancer, which is traditionally not a cause that has attracted much corporate support.

Ever since the *New York Times Magazine* declaration, breast cancer’s philanthropic popularity has grown with consumers and businesses. Breast cancer has been called “the queen of good causes” (Kedrowski & Sarow, 2007, p. 194). Other experts have dubbed breast cancer “a dream cause” due to the success of cause-related marketing (King, 2001, p. 129). Most obviously, breast cancer charities, specifically the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation, are a favourite charitable cause for corporations who want to attract female consumers.

Detailed research investigating why individuals choose to donate to particular charities has not been widely undertaken. Women tend to become involved in charities that directly affect women. Women’s involvement in charitable organizations has been a way to build community and a sense of belonging with other women, which is exemplified in the breast cancer campaigns. Corporations that wish to enter into that community are

“...expected to assume the modern obligations of good citizenship just as individuals had in the past” (King, 2001, p. 117). Corporations are seeking to build a sense of belonging among female consumers.

Women are considered such a lucrative target market for companies because women make the majority of purchases. An in-depth analysis of gender in consumption studies has largely been ignored in the past. Products are now targeted directly at the female shopper and part of this strategy for many companies has been to associate them with breast cancer philanthropy. Women are not only buying groceries and household items, but also purchasing big-ticket items, such as cars and computers, and marketers are increasingly trying to figure out how to capture the female target market, and cause-related marketing has been a tool that has proven to be successful.

Cause-related marketing specifically targets women and an experimental study by Ross, Patterson, and Stutts (1992) suggests that men had less favourable attitudes towards cause-related marketing than women, which the authors state “...supports prior sex role research which indicates that females are more nurturing than men” (p. 96). The authors suggest that cause-related marketing should continue to target women because men are more likely to feel the company is exploiting the cause; however, the authors make the assumption that the current situation reflects some intrinsic value of women of being “other-oriented.” Men are considered intelligent and able to see through the marketing, versus women who would fall for the marketing ploy and merely purchase products without thinking.

The widespread success of breast cancer corporate support has also been criticized by other charitable organizations. Due to breast cancer being highly marketable for

companies seeking to attract female consumers, breast cancer has attracted a tremendous proportion of the charitable dollar and media attention. Consequently the breast cancer movement has been criticized for “cherry picking:” receiving a disproportionate amount of support in comparison to other causes that are considered to be more controversial or have less public appeal (Kedrowski & Sarow, 2007, p. 194).

Prostate cancer has seen significant growth in funds since 2000, largely due to the emergence of a prostate cancer movement that is modeled on the success of the breast cancer movement (King, 2006, p. xvi). Debra Goldman commented in *Adweek* on the reason corporate support has not been greater for prostate cancer: “This seems wise. If you want a man to bond with your brand, reminding him that his penis may be a ticking time bomb is not the way to go about it” (as cited in Kedrowski & Sarow, 2007, p. 192).

Similarly, Barbara Brenner, executive director of Breast Cancer Action, explains:

You can look like you care about women without doing very much at all. Prostates, are not as sexy. Women are easier to target. It will be harder to sell a car to a guy because Ford supports prostate cancer. (As cited in Kedrowski & Sarow, 2007, p. 193).

Following this logic, breast cancer is a “sexy” cancer, but prostate cancer is not. Both are deadly diseases that invade the body, spread to other locations, require aggressive treatment, and often end in death; however, the commercialization in the breast cancer culture has removed the negative connotations of the disease.

Breast cancer has received a significant amount of corporate support, mainly in the form of cause-related marketing, which has been critiqued by some theorists; however, there needs to be more critical analysis of the corporate support that is occurring with prostate cancer. Each cancer culture wants to portray a specific type of image and the way that money is raised is very much implicated in the gender-specific participation. Rather than a

mere reflection on the corporate support received by prostate cancer and breast cancer, this thesis analyzes how the corporations are complicit in creating the gendered identity of participants in very stereotypical ways.

### **3.6 Technology**

The CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember are largely discursive sites that are physically situated on the Internet. The medium of the Internet cannot be assumed to be a neutral tool for information relay. Rather, each organization creates the relationship between the website and visitors in specific ways.

A great deal of scholarly work has analyzed the gendering of technology. Men and women are believed to have different relationships with technology: women are the consumers and men are the producers of technology. Van Zoonen (1992) observes: "...girls listen to their radios, while boys pull them apart; women play videos, but men set the timer; women use computers, men experiment and play with them" (p. 9). She performs a cultural analysis of gender and new information and communication technologies and argues that introducing feminist analyses to technology studies considers how technology is culturally constructed. The stereotypes about the capabilities of women perpetuate the norm where women are not expected to excel in computers and technology. Consequently, a vicious cycle perpetuates where women are socially taught to be anxious about technology and men are taught to embrace technology.

Women have historically had a conflicting relationship with technology. According to Van Zoonen (1992), "In a society where femininity in women is highly valued, women's rejection of computer technology can be considered a rational and positive choice, instead of as a sign of their exclusion or backwardness" (p. 22). She analyzes two common feminist

responses to technology: liberal feminism and ecofeminism. Liberal feminists believe that women should adapt and embrace technologies, which would therefore enable fuller participation in public life (Van Zoonen, 1992, p. 14). In contrast, ecofeminists totally reject technology; “Fundamental to ecofeminism is the idea that women are closer to nature than men, and that technology in its present form is a result of men’s desire to dominate and exploit nature in the same way as they dominate women” (Van Zoonen, 1992, p. 15). The two types of feminisms have opposite solutions in dealing with technology: adopt technology (liberal feminism) and reject technology (ecofeminism).

Binaries understand a complex issue in terms of black-and-white; however, women’s relationship with technology appears to be much more complex. Rather than women being the problem without the technology being questioned (as liberal feminism suggests) or technology purely being the problem (as ecofeminism suggests), Van Zoonen (1992) suggests that the problem lies in the constructed discourse that surrounds technology and the acceptable utilization of how men and women interact with particular technologies.

In an article written five years after Van Zoonen’s (1992) article, Consalvo (1997) reproduces Van Zoonen’s (1992) arguments surrounding gender and new communication technologies, using the same terms, but does not reference Van Zoonen (1992) at all. As previously explored by Van Zoonen (1992), Consalvo (1997) compares the ecofeminist and the liberal feminist approach to technology. She performs a content analysis of *Glamour* magazine’s digital and print versions that is superficial, such as merely counting the number of specific words that appear in each version of the magazine, but neglects to perform an in-depth content analysis or discursive analysis, considering the ways in which women are positioned in relation to technology.



Consalvo (1997) does, however, perform a respectable theoretical analysis of technology gendering, where not only the acceptable type of interaction by men and women is socially dictated, but also the type of technology itself. As she states: “Technologies become gendered through use...” (Consalvo, 1997, p. 104). There is nothing intrinsic in the technologies themselves that make them “gendered” male or female, but the ways in which the technologies are used become associated with stereotypical masculine or feminine qualities. Certain technologies are socially constructed to be more associated with men or with women. This gendering of technologies is in no way a neutral process; rather, those technologies that are gendered male are believed to be superior and authentic in comparison to feminine technologies that are considered inferior and commercial.

Van Zoonen (1992) and Consalvo (1997) both analyze new information and communication technologies from liberal feminist and ecofeminist perspectives, criticizing them as universalist and essentialist. Van Zoonen (1992) suggests that these two feminist discourses do not allow space for theorizing a relationship between femininity and new media. These two feminist perspectives cannot be assumed to speak for all feminism. Rather, a feminist inquiry that utilizes gender performativity, which would be vital for an understanding of women’s role with technology, would be more beneficial than an ecofeminist or liberal feminist perspective.

People’s relationships and interactions with technologies have changed over time. Traditionally, a victim of cancer would turn to family, friends, and health care professionals to provide moral support and practical information; however, the Internet is changing this dynamic and people are now turning to online resources to achieve the same goal (Blank & Adams-Blodnieks, 2007, p. 1250). A discourse analysis by Blank and Adams-Blodnieks

(2007) compares the message boards on WebMD, an online health and medical information site, relating to breast cancer and prostate cancer. People turn to message boards as a forum to share and communicate with others who may be in a similar situation because of the privacy, anonymity, and convenience associated with online messaging (Blank & Adams-Blodnieks, 2007, p. 1250). The results show that there is considerable commonality between the two groups of people, but the differences that were present in the study support traditional sex-role stereotypes (Blank & Adams-Blodnieks, 2007, p. 1255).

In the breast cancer newsgroups, an overwhelming 87% of the messages were sent from the breast cancer victims, whereas only 54% of messages were sent from the prostate cancer victims in the prostate cancer newsgroup (Blank & Adams-Blodnieks, 2007, p. 1253). The other messages in the prostate cancer newsgroup were mainly sent by the wives of prostate cancer victims, which reinforce the stereotype of the woman as caregiver (Blank & Adams-Blodnieks, 2007, p. 1254). Furthermore, the most prominent topic addressed in the breast cancer group related to support, in comparison to medical/treatment issues in the prostate cancer group, which reinforces assumptions about women's emotionality and men's practicality (Blank & Adams-Blodnieks, 2007, p. 1253).

The findings of the study seem to support the stereotypes of men and women, except for the general belief that men are more likely than women to use Internet resources (Blank & Adams-Blodnieks, p. 1254). As evidenced, women are posting to these online forums more often than men; however, the authors equate Internet utilization with the number of messages that are sent by men and women, which may not be a valid judgment because many men may frequent the website, but not post a message, which would challenge the authors' conclusion.

Importantly, this study analyzes the gendered use of message boards, but seems to suggest that the Internet is a representation of reality, rather than recognizing the agency of the Internet message boards to shape reality. Men and women may relate to online sources differently based on their expectations of how men and women are supposed to act in line with their constructed gendered identities.

Stereotypes that men are more competent than women with technologies still proliferate. Considering that the main event for each fundraiser, the CIBC Run for the Cure and the Movember Gala Partés, take place on one day, the build-up and construction of the event online is as important to analyze as the actual event itself as these technologies also provide ways for people to perform, as well as transgress their gendered identity.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

The intersection of theories of gender performativity, the body as a site of meaning, the critiques surrounding the cancer campaigns, cancer philanthropy's corporate support, and the gendering of technology intersect in interesting ways to provide a background to understand the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember. As evidenced, there is a plethora of scholarly writing that analyzes various aspects of breast cancer culture; however, there is very little written about the culture surrounding prostate cancer campaigns due to its recent emergence. This thesis will seek to provide the missing link by focusing on the actual campaigns for both breast cancer and prostate cancer, within the Canadian context. The complete absence of academic analysis on Movember provides a space to investigate the continuities and discontinuities that exist between the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember fundraisers, and how gender is (re)presented, (re)constructed, and (re)performed.

## **4. THE WALKATHON IN HISTORY**

### **4.1 Introduction**

No longer is a citizen expected to “merely” donate money; rather, today’s philanthropic subject is required to actively contribute time and money to charitable events. Over the years, there has been a turning away from anonymously donating to charity, in favour of volunteer-participation in cause-related events. The cultural approval of donating time over money is typified by the fact that one can state in a résumé one’s participation in charitable fundraisers, rather than stating one donated X dollars to a charity. Growing a moustache for Movember and participating in the CIBC Run for the Cure both typify the current type of fundraising effort that requires public participation rather than private donation. Rather than a mere shift from writing a cheque to running a course, there has been a shift in the logic of what it means to be a good citizen.

In 1992, the Run for the Cure was started by a small group of volunteers in Toronto who wanted to raise awareness and funds for breast cancer (“Run for the Cure – History,” 2010, para. 1). The first event saw over 1,500 participants who raised \$85,000. In 2009, 170,000 Canadians in 56 communities took part in the CIBC Run for the Cure and raised \$26.5 million for breast cancer.

The CIBC Run for the Cure exemplifies one of the exercise-based fundraisers that have become increasingly popular as a charitable fundraising event. Most notably, the “walkathon,” is used by countless organizations in order to raise money for their respective causes. The word “walkathon” is comprised of a combination of the words “walk” and “marathon.” Even though the CIBC Run for the Cure is called a “Run,” the event is still considered a walkathon because people are given the option to walk or run. The walking

marathon, also referred to as a “sponsored walk,” involves participants raising money in advance by collecting donations from family, friends, and strangers, as the participant pledges to undertake a predetermined course, such as a 5 kilometre course.

This chapter explores the first fundraising walkathon and examines what has changed in order to uncover the significance of the CIBC Run for the Cure. The CIBC Run for the Cure is a current example of the shift in philanthropy from blind donations to active participation in a charitable event, which exhibits the current “citizenship-through-volunteerism” type of philanthropy whereby personal philanthropy is celebrated versus political agitation.

## **4.2 The First Walkathon**

Today there are countless “walks” and “runs” for cancer, AIDS, leukemia, Alzheimer’s disease, premature births, diabetes, multiple sclerosis, and various other causes. The CIBC Run for the Cure is one of the most successful walkathons in Canada today. Throughout the world, sponsored walks began to appear in the mid-1960s. Canada’s history of walkathons began with Miles for Millions in 1967, which raised money to battle hunger in third-world countries. The project was sponsored by the Centennial International Development Program, which sought to coordinate international relief and promote Canadian participation. Participants in 50 Canadian communities raised money by asking sponsors to donate a specific sum for each mile completed of the 35 mile (over 56 kilometre) walk (Canadian Press, 1967, p. 67).

Of course, Canada’s introduction of sponsored walks did not appear in isolation from the rest of the world. Throughout the world, various walkathons were organized to raise money for charitable organizations. The uniquely Canadian Miles for Millions was

based on U.S. President John F. Kennedy's 50-Mile Hike, which began in 1963 (Kiczek, 2009, para. 1). President Kennedy called for U.S. servicemen to perform an endurance test (a 50-mile hike in one day) to prove that they were in military condition. Soon after, the public took up the President's challenge and extreme walking became a nationwide obsession (Kiczek, 2009, para. 1).

Interestingly, the United States hosted its first organized walkathon after Canada, in 1968. In the 1950s, the International Freedom from Hunger Campaign was launched by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, due to high poverty and malnutrition around the world. Member nations formed National Committees and the committees in Western Europe launched the Walk for Development to raise money and public awareness of hunger. The idea of walking to raise money spread to the United States, and in 1961 President John F. Kennedy developed the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation (AFFHF) to educate Americans about hunger issues and to encourage volunteerism (King, 2003, p. 307). In 1968, the AFFHF launched its first Walk for Development attracting over 3,000 participants, of which 650 walked the entire 33 miles in Fargo, North Dakota and Moorhead, Minnesota. Within a year, over one million people in 16 states participated in an additional 100 walks and raised \$800,000 (Meals for Millions, 2004, para. 9).

In both the United States and Canada, the early walkathons were imitated by a host of other charitable organizations whose interests extended far beyond hunger. The 1970s brought a boom in walkathon fundraisers, which was followed by a proliferation of other exercise-based fundraising events in the mid-1980s; these have continued to flourish (King, 2003, p. 308). Today there are various walkathons, marathons, bikeathons, danceathons,

aerobathons, hopathons, sportathons, bowlathons, dribbleathons, liftathons, and aquathons that raise money for specific charitable causes. The first walkathon and the CIBC Run for the Cure are alike in that they raised money for important causes, involved mass participation of average citizens, and were/are successful at raising much awareness and money for the specific cause; however, there are also critical differences, which are explained below. The differences indicate a shift in the philanthropic logic in an attempt to make it less complicated and less political so more money is ultimately raised.

### **4.3 Walkathons Then and Now: (Un)Controversial Causes**

The first major difference between the early walkathons and the CIBC Run for the Cure is that the early walkathons often donated money to controversial causes (King, 2003, p. 308). In comparison, the CIBC Run for the Cure raises money for an organization that is completely “sanitized” and uncontroversial. Breast cancer fundraising events have been stripped of any political or environmental critique and instead appear as an apolitical and uncritical celebration of the breast cancer survivor. Women participating in breast cancer philanthropic events strive to ensure that their work is not viewed as activism, but rather fundraising (Blackstone, 2004, p. 352). Consequently, the large groups of participants at the events are not protesting or demanding structural changes that might have real impact in the lives of (future) breast cancer victims. The CIBC Run for the Cure ignores the politics and controversial issues of breast cancer, and a mere celebration persists. While it is important to celebrate life, more is needed to change the material and structural problems of breast cancer awareness, prevention, and treatment.

#### **4.4 Walkathons Then and Now: Structural Inequality**

The second major difference between early walkathons and the CIBC Run for the Cure, is that the money from early walkathons often went towards “...public education [that] included radical critiques of structural inequality, racism, and colonialism” (King, 2003, p. 308). Early walkathons analyzed inequality and racism in a way that has not endured in the CIBC Run for the Cure. In contrast, the CIBC Run for the Cure only critiques breast cancer itself, without analyzing inequality, racism, and colonialism. King (2003) notes, “Differences of age, race, and class in mortality rates – for example, the fact that although breast cancer mortality rates dropped slightly among all women in the 1990s, rates among African American women continue to rise – were also ignored or subsumed under the banner of ‘survivor’” (p. 304). Accordingly, of the 38 Ontario-specific projects approved for funding by the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation in 2010, only one project investigates breast cancer and marginalized women (“Funding Approvals,” 2010).

The common theme throughout the CIBC Run for the Cure is “We are all connected,” which is important in unifying women, but it also nullifies the differences. As seen in *Figure 1*, although African American women have a lower risk of being diagnosed with cancer, in comparison with Caucasian women, they have an increased probability of dying from the disease (Newman, 2005, p. 1). Not all women experience breast cancer equally and the CIBC Run for the Cure does little to address this inequality.

#### **4.5 Walkathons Then and Now: Distance**

Another major difference between the early walkathons and the CIBC Run for the Cure is the distance of the track. As stated in Chapter 4.2, the full length of Miles for Millions fundraising event was over 56 kilometres. Throughout the walk there were various



checkpoints where organizers stamped participants' cards to validate the distance that each participant had walked (Warburton, 2006, para. 10). These stamps served as a reward and validation for pushing the body to such great lengths. Furthermore, a participant was motivated to continue persevering because for every mile walked, more money was raised for the cause. Pledges were based on the distance a participant walked, rather than a lump sum before the participant had achieved anything (Warburton, 2006, para. 5).

In stark contrast, participants of the CIBC Run for the Cure have the choice of a 1-kilometre or a 5-kilometre walk ("About the Run," 2010, para. 3). The drastically shorter distance means that most healthy people do not need to train for the event and as such there is little sense of physical accomplishment for those participants. Participants' only real sense of accomplishment is in the amount of money they raise. Participants set themselves a goal of how much money to raise, rather than the goal of what distance to walk/run. Consequently, as governmental logic would dictate, the focus of the walkathon has shifted to the bottom line: how much money is raised.

However, for some people, particularly those who have battled cancer, participating in a 1- or 5-kilometre walk may indeed be a huge physical feat as breast cancer treatments take a tremendous toll on the body. People who survive breast cancer treatment have to deal with the side effects of the treatments and have to work to get their body back into physical shape. As a result, the 5- or even 1-kilometre run is a remarkable accomplishment that is comparable to the 35-mile Miles for Millions that healthy people have undertaken in the past - both events require training, dedication, and physical perseverance. Survivors can experience a great sense of achievement in participating in the CIBC Run for the Cure, which serves as a metaphor for conquering breast cancer itself. The survivor's hard work

and commitment to the physical activity is evidenced in the fact that New Balance and Running Room sponsor 10-week Survivor Clinics that “provide a safe and communal environment for those affected by breast cancer to train and prepare for their 1km or 5km walk or run” (“National sponsors,” 2010, para. 7). The program is only available to female breast cancer survivors as clarified in a telephone call with a Running Room Clinic representative who stated, “Well, the Clinics are for breast cancer survivors, so it is only for women” (Anonymous, personal communication, July 13, 2010). Even though the fundraising event advertises how *all* people, of *all* ages, and from *all* walks of life can participate, the focus is only on female breast cancer survivors.

#### **4.6 Walkathons Then and Now: Pinking the Event**

The fixation on appearance is another critical difference between the early 'thons and the CIBC Run for the Cure. In the early 'thons it did not matter what a participant wore because appearance made little difference to the impact of the event. In contrast, the CIBC Run for the Cure is fixated on appearance and is saturated with pink. The choice of pink as the official colour of breast cancer is an interesting and troubling choice. Prior to the 1930s, pink was considered to be a masculine colour, versus blue, which was considered to be a feminine colour resembling the purity of the Virgin Mary (Ornstein, 2006, para. 30). Since that time, of course, there has been a reversal, and pink is now the colour associated with femininity.

The association between pink and breast cancer began when Nancy Brinker established the Susan G. Komen Breast Cancer Foundation and the Race for the Cure in the United States, in memory of her late sister, and gave bright pink visors to breast cancer participants who ran the race in 1990 (Elliott, 2007, p. 523). However, the first ribbon

campaign for breast cancer was actually peach, rather than pink. In the early 1990s, 68-year-old Charlotte Haley began the first ribbon campaign for breast cancer, which included a handmade peach ribbon with a card attached that read, “The National Cancer Institute annual budget is \$1.8 billion, only 5 percent goes for cancer prevention. Help us to wake up legislators and America by wearing this ribbon” (Fernandez, 1998, para. 1). The peach ribbon was used not only to raise awareness of breast cancer, but an attempt to lobby the government for more cancer prevention funding.

In 1992, *Self* magazine’s editor-in-chief, Alexandra Penney, in conjunction with Estée Lauder, wanted to use a ribbon for breast cancer awareness and contacted Haley to work with them; however, Haley rejected the offer because she believed it was too commercial (Fernandez, 1998, para. 14). Consequently, the lawyers for *Self* and Estée Lauder advised that a new colour be used for the ribbon instead of peach: they chose pink (Fernandez, 1998, para. 14). Since that time, Haley’s grassroots peach ribbon campaign was decimated and a more commercial enterprise took its place, while the adoption of pink as the official colour of the breast cancer charitable movement has cemented pink’s association with femininity.

Rather than a banal choice, pink is now used in an active effort to (re)assert a female survivor’s femininity in attempts to reclaim her identity as a woman. Elliott (2007) notes, “Pink, as the mark of femininity and the badge of sisterhood, most certainly masks the horrors of the disease” (p. 527). Cancer patients often lose their hair during chemotherapy, and could choose to partake in the CIBC Run for the Cure without a wig (even though none of the women in the promotional videos do so). Many breast cancer survivors have also

undergone mastectomies where the breast is surgically removed. Pink is therefore used in an attempt to (re)assert a female breast cancer victim's understanding of her femininity.

Breast cancer survivors who participate in the CIBC Run for the Cure wear a special survivor pink T-shirt, which is used to stand in for a woman's femininity ("Survivor Participation," 2010, para. 1). The CIBC Run for the Cure would have more money available to go directly to the cause if less was spent on periphery expenses, such as the pink survivor T-shirt; however, the T-shirts adorned by breast cancer survivors help to shape identities. Participants want to assume the identity of the philanthropist who publicly supports and wears, both literally and figuratively, the cause on their backs. The T-shirts are used as a tool that creates identities: the breast cancer survivors wear an official pink survivor T-shirt, which distinguishes them from other non-cancer participants. The choice to spotlight the survivors allows a veil of shame to be lifted from the disease, as survivors feel comfortable publicly expressing that they have cancer, which was previously stigmatized. However, what it means to be a cancer survivor wearing the pink T-shirt has specific implications on how to act and look, which (re)assert femininity and subsequently shape identities.

Reflexivity, as outlined by Miklaucic (2003), refers to a person's awareness of how their environment influences how they act in it (p. 331). Breast cancer participants' reflexive understanding of the CIBC Run for the Cure allows them to feel comfortable in the environment. If the totalization of a population occurs when individuals become more reflexive, then the CIBC Run for the Cure can be seen as a tool of totalization as individuals feel that they have the capacity to make choices, when really the choice to participate is either as consumer-citizen or cancer patient/consumer-citizen. Wearing the pink survivor

T-shirt requires one to become a “survivor,” which means not complaining about the treatment or the disease. As Enrenreich (2001) argues, pink ribbon culture creates an atmosphere where “...cheerfulness is more or less mandatory, dissent a kind of treason” (para. 30). The non-cancer participants wear white T-shirts with pink and justify their participation in the CIBC Run for the Cure by identifying their personal connection to breast cancer by displaying the name of a breast cancer survivor/victim they know/knew. The female participants who have not had their femininity threatened (women without breast cancer) do not require their gendered identities to be reinforced and are therefore not required to wear pink.

The use of the colour pink in the actual CIBC Run the Cure itself is only the beginning of a host of pink products that are available in the marketplace that are used to signify support for the cause, as well as femininity. The clothing and the utilization of the colour pink operate as a mechanism of governance by shaping the identity of the breast cancer survivor, as well as cultivating the volunteer citizen as a political subject through participation in the CIBC Run for the Cure.

#### **4.7 The Run as a Philanthropic Event**

The proliferation of exercise-based fundraising events over the past 15 years has changed the signification of walkathons. The CIBC Run for the Cure is not an event that exhibits one’s physical prowess, but one’s charitable prowess. The explosion of physical activity-based fundraising events coincided with the 1980s fitness boom (King, 2003, p. 309). Current wisdom celebrates any kind of exercise as necessary for health and well-being; however, to take a 5-kilometre walk is banal, but to partake in a 5-kilometre walkathon is celebrated. That which is done in the name of charity marks the difference

between normal and altruistic forms of exercise whereby participation in physical activities is considered respectable if it is conducted under the “correct” pretenses.

The logic of exercise-based fundraisers is that they produce proper citizens. The CIBC Run for the Cure follows the governmental logic beginning in the 1980s that self-responsibility is directed through personal philanthropy rather than political agitation. The end of breast cancer comes in the form of individual donations, rather than collective lobbying. In this way, the CIBC Run for the Cure shapes identities and shapes the understanding that the future of society rests on personal acts within a consumer culture. The walkathons are framed as a tool to better society; however, if philanthropy ends with partaking in a 5-kilometre walk, then there is a problem because this does nothing to challenge some of the underlying concerns of breast cancer itself. Participants are not protesting on the hills of parliament demanding change; rather, they are celebrating society’s success on working towards a cure. Being so future-oriented on a cure blinds the current problems.

The “citizenship-through-volunteerism” model dictates that the walkathon, in addition to breast cancer, is a transformative event where one becomes a better citizen (King, 2003, p. 306). Participation in the walkathon serves as a substitute for donating money and a substitute for political agitation. The walkathon provides a way for participants to feel that they are really doing something for breast cancer, without really doing anything.

## **4.8 Conclusion**

The evolution of walkathons from the Miles for Millions to the current CIBC Run for the Cure witnessed a host of changes. The early ’thons donated money to controversial causes and critiqued structural inequality and racism, as participants ran long distances and

were not concerned with appearance. In contrast, the CIBC Run for the Cure donates money to a safe cause and is a depoliticized event, as participants “run” a short distance and are very conscious of outward appearances. The gender stereotype that women are frail, weak, and powerless could be challenged by women actively participating in a physical activity like a run; however, the shorter distance and the pinking of the event does little to break the gendered stereotype.

From Canada’s first walkathon to today’s CIBC Run for the Cure, there have been various shifts in the way that fundraising takes place. The event itself, the fundraising strategy, and the overall goal have changed. Rather than idealize a “golden age” of walkathons, it has to be recognized that the CIBC Run for the Cure is much more successful than past walkathons in achieving continuity and raising a tremendous amount of money. Even though the CIBC Run for the Cure measures its success by the amount of money raised, there should be other measures of a walkathon’s success, such as how free people are to voice their raw emotions and criticisms.

## **5. THE MOUSTACHE IN HISTORY**

### **5.1 Introduction**

From the first few hairs on a boy's lip, to the rituals of stylization, to growing competitions, to an international fundraising event, the moustache is a complex signifier whose meaning has shifted throughout time. However, the common thread throughout history has been the use of the moustache to display masculinity. Thus, the various styles of the moustache are not merely a trend, but rather a reiteration/reconfiguration of the need for male gender performativity. This chapter analyzes five interconnected articulations: 1) the birth of the moustache at puberty; 2) women with moustaches; 3) archiving the moustache; 4) Movember; and 5) the moustache as awareness ribbon. The various articulations of the past provide a contextualization in which to understand the moustache's role in Movember.

The moustache has gone through various discursive shifts throughout the last century. The styles may have shifted, but the moustache as an object has remained constant. The discourse surrounding the moustache has allowed the moustache to be utilized as a technology of the self for men to depict their masculinity. Whether it represents hegemonic masculinity, gay masculinity, or ironic masculinity, the signifier of the moustache has been given the agency of, and becomes the actant of, male masculinity.

### **5.2 Creating the Assemblage**

Rather than merely being a few hairs located on the upper lip, the moustache can be conceived of as a medium, a technology, and an actor that is part of a larger assemblage of meaning. If the media is the means of communication, then there is no reason that the term



“media” can only be associated with technological media. Gitelman (2006) states, “...communication is a cultural practice, a ritualized collocation of different people on the same mental map, sharing or engaged with popular ontologies of representation” (p. 7). As such, communication is a cultural practice and a set of rituals performed by people who share the same way of representing the world: growing a moustache becomes a cultural practice that is performed by men who similarly understand ways of representing the world. The moustache is a “carrier” of information, associated with rank, power, and masculinity. A medium is a socially ritualized form of communication that is used as a transmission tool to deliver information or a message; the moustache is the vessel through which one carries information about self-identity.

Gitelman (2006) emphasizes the importance of media and the imaginary relationship we have with it, which culminate in the realm of ideology: an imaginary relationship is ideological by definition. Men similarly situate themselves in imaginary relations with their facial hair. What it means to be able to grow a moustache and the type of moustache are exemplary of imaginary relationships. There is nothing innate in facial hair that signifies anything more than the onset of puberty for most males; however, the moustache becomes a medium and a “technology of self” in the process of identity creation that can only be understood within a network of meaning. Foucault (1988) describes technologies of the self as that “...which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and ways of being, so as to transform themselves...” (p. 18). The moustache itself has been used as a technology of the self through which people (specifically men) constitute their beings.

The power of the moustache indicates that the moustache has the capacity to act.

Latour (1996) suggests that actors can be both human and non-human entities (p. 2). Actor-network theory is an approach to research that insists on the agency of non-humans. Latour (1996) explains:

An 'actor' in AT is a semiotic definition –actant–, that is, something that acts or to which activity is granted by others. It implies no special motivation of human individual actors, not of humans in general. An actant can literally be anything provided it is granted to be the source of an action (Latour, 1996, p. 5).

The moustache, consequently, can be thought of as an actant that is delegated the task of performing male identity. The wearer of the moustache delegates part of the presentation of male identity to the moustache. Niditch (2008) explains, "Hair takes on meaning within cultural settings and within the framework of individual experience" (p. 14). Actants are not fixed entities, just as moustaches are not fixed entities; the meaning arises out of the particular context, which is based on the specific assemblage in which it appears.

The entire network of events in relation to the moustache needs to be considered in terms of context, or Slack and Wise's (2005) theory of articulation and assemblage. They explain:

Articulation and assemblage assume: that technology is not autonomous, but is integrally connected to the context within which it is developed and used; that culture is made up of such connections; and that technologies arise within these connections as part of them and as effective within them (p. 112).

Using an articulation perspective, the moustache cannot be appreciated in isolation; rather the moustache plays a role in creating the context in which it is used. "When someone takes an articulation perspective, he or she believes that no force or relationship takes center stage, and that the whole is more heterogeneous..." (Slack & Wise, 2005, p. 110). The moustache cannot be viewed at the centre of this assemblage because there is no centre. Rather, the webs of interconnected articulations are examined in order to understand the

emergence, connection, and force of the moustache. Assemblage looks at items that are frequently forgotten and analyzes how they fit into the larger discourse: the moustache itself could very easily fall out of the discussion of Movember. The moustache is a technology of the self, an actant of identity, and a medium through which masculinity is performed.

### **5.3 Moustache as Performance**

Actor-network theory requires that relations in the network need to be repeatedly performed or else the network will dissolve, because actants only obtain their meaning within the specific networks themselves. Similarly, if the moustache is not repeatedly “performed,” then the moustache’s association with masculinity would be lost.

The moustache historically has played, and continues to play, a role in the performance of the construction of masculinities. Cole (2008) proposes, “A range of factors, including any and all features, ornamentation and adornment of the physical body, such as weight, height, body modification, choice of clothing and hairstyle have an impact upon an individual’s self-identity and presentation to the world” (p. 81). Hair growing, shaving, and stylization have long been part of a man’s self-identity.

In the dramatic arts, a play requires the use of props in order for the audience to understand characters and context. In a similar way, the moustache can be understood as a prop that a man uses to perform his masculinity to the audience, which is society at large. In Shakespeare’s plays, “The role of facial hair in the theatrical performance of masculinity ramifies powerfully with constructions of manhood in early modern society” (Rycroft, 2009, p. 218). The masculine construction of the facial hair required the audience’s knowledge of the character traits that are associated with the specific facial hair styles (Rycroft, 2009, p. 220). Today, the signification of particular facial hair styles has become

more fluid and less identifiable, but there is a desire to associate particular moustache styles to particular character traits, as evidenced in the Movember Style Guide (See *Figure 2*).

#### **5.4 Becoming a Man: Puberty**

The signification of the moustache has changed over time, but the continuity can be found in the desire to perform masculinity that begins at puberty. Puberty is a difficult time for adolescents as the body goes through tremendous changes in a relatively short period of time. Most boys develop facial hair at around 14 to 16 years old; however, some boys grow hair years earlier or later depending on the onset of puberty. Interestingly, a boy's first indication of puberty may be the appearance of facial hair at the outer edges of the lip. Thereafter, the hairs on the upper lip grow darker and start progressing towards the centre of the lip into a moustache (Madras & Madras, 2007, p. 97). Puberty is a particularly trying time because the changes are visible for everyone else to see, which consequently enables kids to assess other kids' stage of development. A boy who has the late onset of puberty may experience ridicule by other kids for being immature or less of a "man." As stated by Madras and Madras (2007), "Some people believe that men with a lot of body hair are more manly than other men" (p. 97). Even though there is no statistical correlation, the belief that hairy men are more masculine than hairless men continues to exist in society.

Despite this being an awkward time, many boys look forward to shaving because it is considered a rite of passage into manhood. Although there are clearly no set guidelines on what it means to be a man and what it means to be a boy, growing facial hair has been embedded into the cultural belief system of manhood.

As shown in the Movember Style Guide, a "lame" moustache is one where a man has only a few hairs growing on the upper lip (See *Figure 2*). To be a "real" man means

being able to grow a “real” moustache. The desire of a young boy to physically demonstrate his masculinity is partly due to gendered expectations, and consequently, boys and men who are unable to grow a moustache may be ridiculed for their lack of masculinity, and by extension their femininity.

## **5.5 Women and Moustaches**

“It’s the only thing women can’t do” (Peterkin, 2008, p. 13). Some men express the desire to grow a moustache and the pleasure thereof precisely because women “can’t.” This reason reinforces hegemonic masculinity that positions men’s ability to grow facial hair as evidence of men’s increased ability or strength over women. The desire to grow facial hair because women “can’t” is an attempt to polarize the sexes in binary ways. However, what is left out of the equation is the fact that some men cannot grow moustaches and some women, indeed, do grow moustaches.

The long history of women battling facial hair begins as early as 4,000 BC (Peterkin, 2008, p. 105). “Historically, women with excessive facial and body hair have been presented as monsters, anomalies and human prodigies” (Velasco, 2006, p. 182). The “bearded lady” has been repeatedly showcased in circus and freak shows in an attempt to “other” the female abnormality (See *Figure 3*). Male-dominated societies have had to conceive of ways of disciplining women’s hairy bodies through a variety of mechanisms. Rather than a top-down type of governmentality that dictates that women should remove excess facial hair, women have internalized the regulatory norms of what it means to be a feminine woman, which demands an absence of female facial hair. Foucault’s (1977) *Discipline and Punish* discusses how cultural norms are inscribed on the body. Subtle techniques of power create docile bodies that “...may be subjected, used, transformed and

improved” (Foucault, 1977, p. 136). These methods are ways of controlling and disciplining the culturally constructed body. Bartky (1988) claims that Foucault neglects the disciplinary practices that are specific to women, and she argues that not only do women’s bodies need to be a particular size and shape, but a woman’s body also must be a disciplined ornamented surface (p. 68). Part of a woman’s ornamented surface requires a woman’s skin to be “soft, supple, hairless, and smooth” (Bartky, 1988, p. 68). The practice of hair removal constructs the ideal body of femininity, which is explicitly polarized to the masculine body.

The methods of female facial hair removal have changed over time, but have always been a combination of money, time, effort, and pain. The simplest method of hair removal is shaving; however, “...women have, more often than not, objected to shaving it [the moustache] off; bad enough to battle a moustache, but to have to remove it like a man added insult to injury” (Peterkin, 2008, p. 107). Instead of shaving, unwanted hair can be dealt with through processes of “...plucking, bleaching, waxing, depilatory creams, electrolysis, or laser therapy” (Lipton, Sherr, Elford, Rustin, & Clayton, 2006, p. 161). These norms have been inscribed in cultural discourse so that any dissenting female body that does not undergo the ritual painful practices of hair removal is subject to punishment in the form of freak shows in the past, or medicalization and scorn (See *Figure 4*).

Peterkin (2008) suggests, “When detected, the beard or moustache has generally transformed its female wearer into a witch, a freak or a damaged specimen in desperate need of medical attention” (p. 98). In an attempt to dismiss alternative forms of female bodies, women with facial hair were constructed as monsters. Historically, Velasco (2006) states, “...the sensational and hugely popular display of women with masculine traits, such as facial and body hair, during the early modern period created a visual spectacle intended to

shock and entertain but ultimately proved also to control non-conforming bodies” (p. 188). Non-conforming female bodies were punished in order to maintain the constructed norm of the correct female body.

The trend to medicalize hairy women began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and was linked to pathological states (Peterkin, 2008, p. 107). Hirsutism is the medical term for the presence of excess hair in females, distributed in a pattern that is commonly associated with men (Lipton et al., 2006, p. 161). Historically, “...it was men’s responsibility to control women and prevent them from acquiring a beard – the visual sign of strength and power” (Velasco, 2006, p. 187). It now appears that the responsibility has shifted to women who have internalized the regulatory norms via self-surveillance; there no longer needs to be men controlling women’s bodies because societal norms dictate that women regulate their own bodies.

The intolerance of women with moustaches is due to the fact that it breaks the gendered binary of men and women as polar opposites. The equation of men, masculinity, and power is complicated and destabilized by the presence of women’s moustaches. Peterkin (2008) suggests that there has been increasing tolerance of gender-bending, such as female moustaches (p. 109); however, the acceptance or celebration of female facial hair only occurs in smaller sub-cultures. The widespread belief that female facial hair is hideous and needs to be removed still exists in most societies. Rather than, “It’s the only thing women can’t do” (Peterkin, 2008, p. 13); the reality is, “It’s one of the many things that men don’t want women to do.”

## **5.6 Archiving the Moustache**

“Beards, moustaches, and whiskers have been in and out of fashion like the tide throughout history, although rather less predictably” (Cooper, 1971, p. 93). The common thread throughout history is that the moustache has been used to display masculinity. Latour (1996) suggests that the object stays the same over time; it is the discourse that changes. The discourse is, therefore, what brings the object into being, rather than the other way around.

Gitelman (2006) states, “...I begin with the truism that all media were once new as well as the assumption, widely shared by others, that looking into the novelty years, transitional states, and identity crises of different media stand to tell us much...” (p. 1). In various eras, the meaning and style of the moustache has changed, but as Gitelman (2006) suggests, it is precisely the transitional states that are so telling. Each successive, not progressive, trend and utilization of the moustache should not be read as a definitive historical narrative, but rather as various articulations of the moustache in time with historically and culturally specific meanings. Siegfried Zielinski states, “The notion of continuous progress from lower to higher, from simple to complex, must be abandoned...” (as cited by Kluitenberg, 2008, p. 48). In this way, historical developments of the moustache cannot be viewed as progress; consequently, developments should be considered “transformation” rather than “innovation” (Kluitenberg, 2008, p. 62).

The moustache has appeared throughout time as the medium between the bearded and clean-shaven. Morris (2008) explains: “...men want to look young and expressive and clean-cut, but they would also like to display a little masculine hair to flaunt their gender in a modest way. The answer is that famous compromise, the moustache” (p. 113). Men with



facial hair, relative to clean-shaven men, are believed to possess the positive descriptors of masculinity, such as, “masculine, strong, potent, dominant and courageous,” as well as the negative masculine attributes of being “more aggressive, reckless, lacking in self-control, unkind and dirty” (Muscarella & Cunningham, 1996, p. 102).

In the last 100 years, the moustache has gone through radical transformations. The shift in discursive meaning of the moustache does not signify a hierarchical progress. Continuities and discontinuities of the moustache need to be examined in order to understand that a decisive break does not exist; rather, there are ruptures that occur at different places at different times that slowly change the articulation of the moustache.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the moustache was heavily tied to militarism. From the nineteenth century until the middle of the First World War, all ranks in the British Army were not allowed to shave their upper lip (Morris, 2008, p. 113). In fact, the moustache was used as a physical indicator to identify a man’s rank. “Lower orders were only permitted a modest growth, but the higher you rose through the ranks, the larger and more flamboyant your moustache was allowed to become” (Morris, 2008, p. 114). The moustache clearly represented power, so there was a system of governance that ensured that the hierarchy of power physically manifested on men’s faces. The moustache’s relation to class and profession remain important as seen in the proliferation of and stereotype of the moustachioed fireman and policeman.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the moustache was popular and became “...a visual icon with distinct political and cultural associations” (Peterkin, 2008, p. 158). Key icons of the time were Charlie Chaplin with his famous moustache that was later copied by Adolph Hitler, as well as the moustachioed men Joseph Stalin and Groucho Marx (See *Figure 5*).

The moustache was a symbol of power and strength; however, the moustache also became a gay symbol at this time (Peterkin, 2008, p. 159). Throughout the years, there has been a conflict between the heterosexual and homosexual utilization of the moustache that has never quite been resolved. If heterosexual men use the moustache to represent their macho manliness, then the incorporation of the moustache into gay culture co-opts and changes the signification.

In the 1940s and 1950s, two unlikely groups adopted the moustache: the pornography industry and beatniks. The porn industry began to use images of smooth-skinned young men with moustaches (Peterkin, 2008, p. 131). Even though the general public did not mimic the trend, the knowledge of the “porn ’stache” still resonates today and has further connotations of pedophilia and perversion (See “Sanchez” in *Figure 2*). Jack Kerouac, poet Allen Ginsberg, and Norman Mailer were part of the Beat Generation and were important in creating the beatnik culture. Beat culture emerged which rebelled against anything mainstream or trendy and followed the lifestyle of black jazz musicians (Fletcher, 2009, para. 5). Later in the 1960s, the Beat (life)style was transformed, copied, and emulated by hipster culture, which continued to appropriate the moustache. This style is important because of its reemergence in the 1990s as contemporary hipsters.

In 1947, the Handlebar Club, a formal moustache group, was established in London, which explicitly rejected beards and embraced the moustache (See *Figure 6*). Since that time, other moustache clubs were established, such as the Svensk Mustaschklubben (the Swedish Moustache Club), De Eerste Nederlandse Snorrenclub (the First Dutch Moustache Club), and the Snorrenclub Antwerpen (the Antwerp Moustache Club) (Morris, 2008, p. 115). With the clubs reaching their height of popularity in the 1950s, moustachioed men met

for sport, charitable events, and male bonding (Peterkin, 2008, p. 160). These men-only clubs were important male-bonding and socialization events that brought men together, with the explicit exclusion of women. Even though some women should have been able to gain access through their moustaches, women were barred from these associations.

The 1960s is famously recognized as the decade of the hippies. “Flower children chose to ‘let it all hang out,’ which meant growing long hair, sprouting full beards and moustaches, and experimenting with sex (and drugs) of all kinds” (Peterkin, 2008, p. 132). *Hair*, the musical, hit Broadway in 1968, which celebrated the sexual revolution and hippie culture. Strongly influenced by musicians such as the Beatles, Jimi Hendrix, and Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young, men who grew untamed moustaches and beards were linked to rebellion and sexual freedom (See *Figure 7*).

The resurgence of the moustache’s popularity was in full effect during the 1970s, when the moustache reached the peak of its fashion. In gay culture, near the end of the decade, the gay moustache appeared in the “clone” style: “...short-cropped, military-style hair, obligatory moustache, bomber jacket, beefed-up shoulders, and [a] muscular butt under tight jeans” (Peterkin, 2008, pp. 134-135) (See *Figure 8*). As early as the 1950s, the moustache was a symbol of “homo butchness,” but in the 1970s a leather and denim subculture within gay communities became highly visible where sadomasochistic practices, handlebar moustaches, and sideburns became popular (Peterkin, 2008, p. 134). The construction of this hypermasculine subculture with a focus on power and control within gay culture relied on the associations of masculinity and the moustache.

The evolution of the moustache as a gay or bisexual signifier may have caused the demise of the moustache in the 1980s and 1990s for heterosexual men. At this time, facial

hair was only found in advertising for products or services for “depression, substance abuse, or HIV” (Peterkin, 2008, p. 136). The manly facial hair was at this time also associated with sexual disease. With so many gay men dying of HIV/AIDS in the '80s and '90s the “clone” look also went out of style for gay men, as they became convinced, as women have, that in order to attract a man they needed to be hairless.

In the late 1980s, a group of gay men in San Francisco rejected the pin-up ideal of hairlessness and formed a group with the bear as the symbol, because “...bears are large, hairy, and strong (but also secure and gentle)” (Peterkin, 2008, p. 137). The Bears embraced masculinity and expressed disdain towards effeminacy (See *Figure 9*). In the 1990s, gay men successfully reintroduced facial hair and no doubt “...gay men will continue to explore this tension between manliness and boyishness and will undoubtedly unleash the next great facial hair trend, whatever it may be” (Peterkin, 2008, p. 139).

Ever since the 1970s, moustache popularity has decreased, especially among heterosexual men, who saw the moustache adopted by gay culture. Due to the relative dearth of examples of facial hair, the first World Beard and Moustache Championship was held in Germany in 1990 in an attempt to find and celebrate the world's best beards and moustaches. Interestingly, the proceeds of the 2007 event went to a testicular cancer charity in England (“Bearded wonders,” 2007, para. 9). Thus, the link between growing facial hair, expressing masculinity, and raising money has its origins in beard and moustache growing competitions.

At the same time that moustache-growing competitions were being initiated, so was the rebirth of the 1940's hipster. In the 1990s, the 1940's hipster style reemerged, with young men again wearing the moustache, but with an ironic twist (See *Figure 10*).

“Throughout the '90s, polymorphous twenty-somethings and club-kids were the most creative in combining hairy patches to hugely original effect” (Peterkin, 2008, p. 191). Hipsters go against mainstream style and since mainstream style dictated that moustaches were not fashionable, hipsters embraced them. Hipsters wear the moustache in an ironic way to represent the image of a rebellious man who does not care to conform to societal norms, as well as an androgynous performance of masculinity. There are various styles of the ironic hipster moustache, which draw from the historical connotations of the moustache.

Most recently, the moustache has seen a sudden resurgence, but only for one month of the year: November. The most recent appearance of the moustache is in Movember: a fundraising event held annually in November where “Bros” (men) grow a “Mo” (moustache) to raise awareness and funds for prostate cancer. The moustache is of paramount importance to Movember, which has implications as a result of the historical significance of the moustache. Due to the tremendous significance of the moustache in the campaign, it is important to analyze the moustache as actor in the assemblage in order to fully understand the signification.

Movember reintroduced the moustache into mainstream culture in a humorous way, which relies on people’s historical understanding of the moustache. If people did not recognize that the moustache is currently out-of-style (except within hipster communities and other subcultures), the campaign would have no effect, because Movember relies on the shock-value of the moustache to raise attention, awareness, and funds. Movember embodies the history of men using facial hair to signify power, strength, rank, and most importantly their masculinity, in combination with the adoption of the 1990s moustache growing competition and use of the ironic moustache.

## 5.7 Movember Moustache

Movember is classified as a “month-long celebration of the moustache” (“About,” 2009, para. 2). Movember began with the desire to grow a moustache, rather than the desire to raise money for prostate cancer, which subsequently shapes the philanthropy. The initial idea for Movember indicates the chief role that the moustache plays in the campaign:

The idea for Movember was sparked in 2003 over a few beers in Melbourne, Australia. The guys behind it joked about 80s fashion and decided it was time to bring the moustache back. *In order to justify their Mos* [emphasis added] (Australian slang for moustache), they used their new looks to raise money for prostate cancer research... (“About,” 2009, para. 4).

Throughout the Movember website, which is the point of origin of the campaign, the emphasis on the moustache is reiterated, and prostate cancer is relegated to being of secondary importance. In comparison, the desire to raise money for breast cancer preempted the CIBC Run for the Cure. The fact that men are not even given the option to participate in Movember without growing a moustache further signifies the importance of the moustache in the campaign. The Movember website offers two options for a person looking to get involved: “Are you: A man who wants to grow a Moustache to raise awareness and funds for men’s health specifically prostate cancer...[or] A woman who loves a Moustache and wants to bring much needed attention to men’s health specifically prostate cancer” (“Get involved,” 2009, para. 1). To be a man and to participate in Movember means to grow a moustache; to be a woman and participate in Movember means to be physically attracted to men with moustaches. Even though many women could grow a moustache and this act would raise more attention and subsequent awareness of prostate cancer than a man’s moustache, women are not invited to grow a moustache.

The end of Movember culminates in the end-of-month Gala Partés hosted in various cities around the world where men dress to suit their moustaches (See *Figure 11*). What it means to dress to suit one's moustache means a performance of machismo, which typically evokes the stereotypical notions of masculinity. The Gala Partés appear as a rearticulation of the moustache trends of the past, but done in humorous way that exaggerates hypermasculinity.

The history of the moustache shows the various articulations of the moustache that have had particular meanings over time. Rather than depicting specific styles of the past, Movember conveys, what Frederic Jameson (1991) calls "pastness," whereby a sense of the past is created without any connection to real history (p. 19). Jameson (1991) believes that parody has been replaced by pastiche in the postmodern age that has resulted in a lack of satiric impulse. He explains:

Pastiche is, like parody, the imitation of a peculiar or unique, idiosyncratic style, the wearing of a linguistic mask, speech in a dead language. But it is a neutral practice of mimicry, without any of parody's ulterior motives, amputated of the satiric impulse, devoid of laughter... (p. 17).

The Movember Style Guide attempts to classify moustache styles to different personalities or masculinities (See *Figure 2*). There are fourteen different styles displayed, including: Man, Boxcar, Connoisseur, Abrakadabra, Wispy, Rockstar, Undercover Brother, Trucker, Regent, Major, Lane, Sanchez, After Eight, and Freestyler. The Movember Style Guide points to the "pastness" of moustaches throughout time, but there is a lost connection to history in the amalgamation of styles due to the intertextuality. Jameson (1991) describes intertextuality as "...a deliberate, built-in feature of the aesthetic effect and as the operator of a new connotation of 'pastness' and pseudohistorical depth, in which the history of aesthetic styles displaces 'real' history" (p. 20). Consequently, rather than present one

particular style from one particular point in history, the Movember Style Guide creates a nostalgic effect due to the various moustache styles and periods, which neglects “real” history.

## **5.8 Moustache as Ribbon**

Ribbons of every colour proliferate the culture of philanthropy to symbolize awareness for particular charitable causes. A new type of “ribbon” has emerged signifying awareness for prostate cancer: the moustache for Movember. Most of the awareness ribbon campaigns, such as the red ribbon for AIDS awareness, began in the 1990s and there has been a proliferation of ribbons in every colour ever since (Moore, 2008, p. 1). Almost every charitable cause has some sort of awareness ribbon that is sold by charitable organizations. A ribbon is purchased as part of the specific fundraising campaign, but more important than the money raised is the awareness that the wearer of the ribbon is advocating. Moore (2008) says, “The ribbon, for example, both a kitsch fashion accessory, as well as an emblem that expresses empathy; it is a symbol that represents awareness, yet requires no knowledge of a cause; it appears to signal concern for others, but in fact prioritises self-expression” (p. 2). In this way, the ribbon becomes a fashion accessory that expresses more about the person wearing the ribbon than what the ribbon is supposed to signify.

Even if an onlooker is unaware of what cause a ribbon is meant to be raising awareness for, people are able to identify the wearer as a specific type of person who is culturally sensitive to issues that require awareness. Consequently, the person wearing the ribbon is involved in a process of self-creation where the wearer constructs their identity outwardly for others to see. The exact role of the ribbon to signify “awareness” is complicated due to the complexities in the signification of the ribbon. With every cause



attempting to figuratively and literally “pin” itself on people’s hearts, there has been tremendous overlap in what each coloured ribbon represents. For example, a blue ribbon is used for sex trafficking and slavery awareness, child abuse awareness, prostate cancer awareness, colon cancer awareness, and several others also. Consequently, aside from a few ribbons that have been successful at wholly co-opting a specific colour as their cause’s colour (such as pink for breast cancer and red for AIDS awareness), the meaning of most ribbons is rather ambiguous.

Movember is attempting to mirror the success of the breast cancer campaigns in identifying a “ribbon” for Movember. Rather than share a colour with a host of other charitable causes, Movember utilizes the moustache as ribbon. The Movember website states, “...a Mo Bro is a walking billboard for the cause as his new look opens the door for him to talk about prostate cancer – making the moustache a symbol, much like the pink ribbon is for breast cancer” (“About Movember,” 2009, para. 5).

However, the moustache as ribbon cannot be understood in simplistic ways because even though the moustache is similar to awareness ribbons, the moustache is also critically different in important ways. Movember’s use of the moustache as a ribbon is different from traditional awareness ribbons in three significant ways: 1) dismissal of homosexuality; 2) women’s inability to fully participate; and 3) a symbol of a more “authentic” type of fundraising.

First, even though Movember is raising awareness for a men’s health issue, there is discrimination and exclusion in the type of male sexuality displayed. Despite Movember making no reference to the red ribbon used in AIDS awareness, there are important links between the Movember moustache as ribbon and the red ribbon. Awareness ribbons existed

prior to the red ribbon's inception in 1991, but the red ribbon soon became the most commonly known and commonly worn awareness ribbon. The red looped-ribbon was a descendant of the 1980's AIDS activism, which was influenced by the 1980's gay-liberation movement (Moore, 2008, p. 59). Before the term "AIDS" was used, the disease was referred to as gay-related immune deficiency (GRID) because it was believed that the disease was isolated to gay communities. GRID was a highly misleading name because the disease extends far beyond homosexuals, and the name was changed to AIDS in an attempt to reflect the reality of the wide-ranging victims of the disease. Gay AIDS activists used the red ribbon in protest to destigmatize the disease, raise money for awareness and research, as well as fight against homophobia and discrimination (Moore, 2008, p. 59).

Like the red ribbon, the Movember moustache is used to raise money for a worthy cause; however, the way that homosexuality is dealt with in the fundraising vastly differs. While gay men used the red ribbon as a symbol in activism, there is a distinct denial of homosexuality in Movember. Throughout the campaign heteronormativity is reiterated, while homosexuality and alternative types of sexualities are completely dismissed. The dismissal leads to the denial of homosexuality in Movember, which is contrasted to the red ribbon that raised awareness for gay rights.

Second, since (most) women cannot grow a moustache their involvement is marginalized and their participation is limited to merely supporting the men and raising money. Movember uses governmental logic to dictate the correct type of female bodies. Unlike a ribbon, which can be worn by anyone, a moustache can (usually) only be "worn" by men, which divides the type of participation along gendered lines.

Finally, the moustache has a performative element that is time-based. Unlike the ribbon that is pinned on and taken off clothing at will, Movember requires that a Mo Bro have a permanent signifier that is worn on the face for a specific period of time: the entire month of November. The moustache as ribbon can be seen as a more authentic signifier because it is not possible to be removed, except by shaving. Rather than a fashionable item like the traditional ribbon that has been so commercialized, such as the breast cancer jewellery, the Movember moustache is meant to be more of a raw, authentic, active, and masculine signifier of cancer awareness ribbon that specifically excludes women, as well as men from specific cultures who typically have minimal facial hair (e.g. Native Americans, African Americans, and Asians).

Part of the stereotypical binary of masculinity and femininity is men as active and women as passive. However, growing a moustache is in fact a passive form of philanthropy. Unlike the CIBC Run for the Cure where participants actually have to walk/run to show their support, which is highly active, men participating in Movember are inactive: their “action” means to be inactive and merely not shave their moustache.

The moustache as a signifier for a new type of prostate cancer philanthropy in Movember is problematic because many people are excluded from fully participating, which subsequently privileges certain types of people. The use of moustaches also brings up a complicated history of men using the moustache to display power and rank over others.

## **5.9 Conclusion**

The moustache is a medium, a technology, and an actant that is part of a larger assemblage of meaning. The assemblage has been brought into fruition by mapping the birth of the moustache at puberty, women with moustaches, archive of the moustache,

Movember, and the moustache as awareness ribbon. From the onset of puberty, a boy's masculinity is mapped onto his upper lip. The moustache has been used to signify male power, rank, and masculinity; consequently, women with moustaches have been subject to self-surveillance in the form of ritual hair removal in order to stabilize the gendered binary. Tracing the moustache since the 1900s is not a definitive historical narrative, but rather represents various articulations of the moustache up to the present day. The most recent articulation of the moustache appears in Movember by using the moustache as an awareness ribbon, representing nothing more than the "pastness" of the moustache, which is used to perform gender and polarize femininity and masculinity. Movember amalgamates various moustache styles and the result is "blank parody," which says nothing about the history of the moustache (Jameson, 1991, p. 17). The history of the moustache points to the reality of controlling female bodies and the continuous battle between the homosexual and heterosexual utilization of the moustache, which is ignored in Movember, while the moustache is co-opted by Movember for the exclusive use of heterosexual men.

## **6. PHILANTHROPIC PROMOTIONAL VIDEOS**

### **6.1 Introduction**

Participation in cancer philanthropic events requires participants to assume a specific identity, which is shaped by the surrounding discourses that exist within breast cancer and prostate cancer philanthropy. As evidenced by the proliferation of pink ribbons, most cancer activism has been focused on breast cancer; however, prostate cancer awareness has become increasingly “popular” in recent years. Despite the problematic use of the term “popular,” charities are like brands that battle for the charitable dollar.

This chapter provides an analysis of the promotional videos for the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember. While the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember’s promotional videos are effective in recruiting participants to join their respective causes, this chapter aims to show that the promotional videos are also embedded with sex-role stereotyping and gender essentialism, which reproduces the binaries of acceptable forms of femininity and masculinity, and perpetuate certain narratives at the expense of others.

### **6.2 Selection of Promotional Videos**

The success of the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember campaigns can be attributed to the effective utilization of promotional materials to advertise and garner support from Canadians. Both of the campaigns base their fundraising efforts online through the utilization of the official websites and promotional videos. Only the official promotional videos were analyzed for each campaign, even though multiple videos may be produced in a

year. The promotional videos are located on both of the main campaign websites, which subsequently link to YouTube videos.

This chapter provides a visual and social semiotic analysis of the 2007, 2008, and 2009 promotional videos for the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember. The first year of analysis is 2007 because this is the year that Movember was established in Canada. Furthermore, the analysis concludes with the 2009 promotional videos because, even though the CIBC Run for the Cure video was released in February 2010, at the time of writing the Movember 2010 video was yet to be released.

The three years of promotional videos were analyzed together because the style of advertising for each organization remained relatively constant throughout the years. The consistent style of advertising by each campaign is itself significant because it points to a specific narrative and ideology that the organizations are attempting to be aligned with. When the advertising strategy is similar throughout the years, people are able to gain a sense of the charities' "branded" identities.

Rather than the promotional videos reflecting reality, they can be understood as constructing reality. The CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember promotional videos seek to reaffirm women's and men's femininity and masculinity, respectively, through reiterated norms that exist in each cancer culture.

### **6.3 Charitable Branding**

As Barthes (1977) contends, "...in advertising the signification of the image is undoubtedly intentional; the signifieds of the advertising message are formed *a priori* by certain attributes of the product and these signifieds have to be transmitted as clearly as possible" (p. 33). The use of specific images in the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember

promotional videos are explicitly chosen in an attempt to create a specific type of branded identity. The promotional videos are advertising to a specific type of person who contributes to the charity by participating, but the charity also contributes to a participant's gendered self-identity.

Although people do not like to think of charities as "brands," each charitable organization is fighting for the consumer/volunteer to "buy into" the advertising. "On the face of it, charities are brands as much as Guinness, Starbucks and Adidas" (Griffiths, 2005, p. 121). If one "buys into" the charitable advertising then that person will support, donate to, or volunteer with the organization. Frisch and Gerrard explain, "...how psychological congruence between a particular charity and a person's self-image could stimulate donations to that charity" (as cited in Bennett, 2003, p. 14). A person's idea of the external image they would like to reflect needs to be mirrored in the advertising. Charities, therefore, need to create an image of what their philanthropic volunteer and donor looks, acts, and feels like. With so many charities competing with one another, charities are increasingly trying to create "brand differentiation" (Griffiths, 2005, p. 151).

The CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember exhibit contrasting marketing strategies in the construction of their charitable brand, which is evidenced in the employment of the promotional videos. "At its most basic level, a brand is quite simply – who you are, what you say and what you do, and the set of relationships that are built on that" (Grounds, 2005, p. 65). The CIBC Run for the Cure's promotional videos rely heavily on emotional imagery, content, and music, which conforms to what Griffiths (2005) calls "the universal charity brand," which is, "how can you sit there and allow this to happen?" (p. 151). A person watching the promotional videos for the CIBC Run for the Cure is emotionally moved by

hearing the devastating stories of how breast cancer affects not just the victim, but the whole family as well. Movember, on the other hand, is completely different in their branded strategy because they do not draw on the same sad emotional appeal, as does the CIBC Run for the Cure.

Through advertising, a product is able to acquire a host of connotative meanings, which are the ideas or mental constructs that surround the product, rather than the inherent qualities within the product itself. Similarly, the charitable organizations use the promotional videos to harness connotative meanings on what it means to participate in the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember.

The construction and emphasis on a hyper-femininity in the CIBC Run for the Cure, and the construction and emphasis on a hyper-masculinity in Movember is demonstrated in the promotional videos. Both organizations create groups that are expected to perform their femininity or masculinity at the expense of the other group: the CIBC Run for the Cure essentializes a constructed femininity and Movember performs masculinity at the dismissal of femininity. An analysis of the 2007, 2008, and 2009 promotional videos for the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember points to the constructed nature of the gendered campaigns that work to further certain ideologies in binary ways.

#### **6.4 CIBC Run for the Cure Promotional Videos**

An analysis of the CIBC Run for the Cure promotional videos provides an understanding of the overall charitable brand that is constructed and points to some of the underlying ideologies behind the fundraising. The narrative of the promotional videos tells a specific story, which is at the expense of other narratives.



When one person is displayed on the CIBC Run for the Cure promotional videos there is a serious and sombre tone, which is often equated with sad stories and emotionality. In this way, individuality is not celebrated, but rather sadness is shown as a consequence of being alone. The message: women need other women to survive. As seen in the 2009 video, a female breast cancer survivor is shown in isolation where she tells her story of undergoing surgery merely three weeks prior (See *Figure 12*). Small and Verrochi (2009) explain why sadness may be a useful tool in fundraising: “When a person catches sadness, his or her emotional state converged with the victim’s negative emotional state, resulting in greater sympathy and prosocial behaviour” (p. 778). Similar to other charitable organizations that do not show an entire group of victims, the CIBC Run for the Cure’s promotional videos focus on individual victims to tell their story, which enables a viewer to put a unique face behind every story, rather than just conceiving of breast cancer victims as mere statistics.

Ehrenreich (2001) argues that the breast cancer culture is indeed a breast cancer *cult*: “And like most recognized religions, breast cancer has its great epideictic events, its pilgrimages and mass gatherings where the faithful convene and draw strength from their numbers” (para. 34). Although she does not extend the metaphor to this point, cults thrive on a loss of individuality and a gained sense of community. Cults are frequently associated with brainwashing, where a person enters into a cult and slowly becomes absorbed by the ideology, due to mind control, and is no longer able to see what is on the outside. The CIBC Run for the Cure promotional videos are similarly calling out women who are watching the videos to join the movement. Once part of the breast cancer cult(ure), there are certain permissible actions and emotions and certain unacceptable actions and emotions, and one needs to conform to the expected norms.

Being part of a group requires a specific type of behaviour in order to be accepted by the collective whole. Groups are celebrated in the CIBC Run for the Cure promotional videos; however, displaying people in groups can be problematic. “Showing people from a distance (in a ‘long shot’) can also decrease their individuality and make them more into types, because from a distance we will be less able to discern their individual features” (Van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 96). The promotional videos frequently show images of a large group of people participating in the CIBC Run for the Cure together; this type of camera shot constructs the breast cancer volunteer as a specific “type” (See *Figure 13*).

The CIBC Run for the Cure perpetuates the ideology that the participants are all the same, as evidenced in their repeated statement, “We are all connected” (4:18). Participants are not asked to stand out, but rather to blend in, with the sea of pink. Van Leeuwen (2001) explains, “Depicting people in groups rather than as individuals... reinforces the ‘they’re all the same effect’ that constitutes generalization” (p. 96). The 2007 video shows a combination of news clips that state:

It happened in 53 communities across the country, including right here in Winnipeg...More than 12,000 people hit Calgary streets yesterday...Today thousands of people in Barrie did what tens of thousands of people did across the country. (1:53).

In this way, every community participating in the CIBC Run for the Cure is shown to be just like every other community, just as every participant is just like every other participant.

The promotional videos suggest that each person is affected by breast cancer in a similar way, which negates the particularity of an individual person’s experience of breast cancer. No two victims are affected in the same way and no two stories about breast cancer are the same. However, the differences are nullified in an attempt to construct a continuous

discourse surrounding the disease. In the 2009 video, the narrative blends one person's voiceover into the next person's voiceover, as to suggest that it is the same story. The assumption is that not only are breast cancer victims the same, but so are all the people participating in the CIBC Run for the Cure.

When one cancer narrative comes to stand in for all cancer narratives then other narratives are excluded. An overarching narrative of *the* breast cancer survivor surfaces when people's experiences of breast cancer are amalgamated. The construction of *the* breast cancer participant and survivor is limiting, as the breast cancer survivor in the promotional videos is undoubtedly female. As stated in Chapter 2.1, men account for almost one percent of breast cancer victims in Canada, and yet throughout all three years of analysis, the videos only display female victims. In the 2007 video a woman states, "It is someone's mother, someone's aunt, someone's grandmother" (0:17); however, the breast cancer victim could also be someone's father, someone's uncle, someone's grandfather. A woman in the 2008 video states, "This year in Canada, over 22,000 women will be diagnosed with the disease" (0:10). However, no mention is made of the statistic regarding the men who will be diagnosed with breast cancer. During the CIBC Run for the Cure, people write the names of the people they are running for on the back of their bibs. In the 2009 video, a numbered bib worn by a man reads, "I am running for my beautiful wife" (0:47). However, not a single person is shown to be running for any male victim/survivor. The complete dismissal of men and masculinity in the promotional videos serves to discount male experiences of breast cancer and create the distorted narrative that breast cancer is exclusively a woman's disease.

The CIBC Run for the Cure is constructed as an event to celebrate womanhood, which masks the reality of male breast cancer. Of course, since men only make up one

percent of breast cancer victims, they should not give the issue more attention than it warrants, but to completely ignore male breast cancer distorts reality and can stigmatize men suffering with the disease. Many people are unaware that men can get breast cancer because of the feminizing discourse surrounding the disease, which is articulated in the promotional videos. Bunkley, Robinson, Bennett, and Gordon (2000) discuss that when men are diagnosed with breast cancer a male identity crisis can result because of the “feminization” of breast cancer (p. 91). Thus, the promotional videos for the CIBC Run for the Cure further perpetuate the myth of breast cancer being an exclusively female disease and this creates a veil of dismissal and shame for men with breast cancer.

The content of the promotional videos for the CIBC Run for the Cure is highly feminized, not only by dismissing male breast cancer victims, but also through the tone, colour, and utilization of specific feminizing images. The overall tone is a mix of sadness and cheer with no alternative emotions. It would seem natural that those affected by breast cancer would possess an array of emotions, such as fear, anger, depression, in addition to sadness and cheerfulness. The limited range of emotional display presents a particular type of controlled body where a certain display of emotions is deemed permissible and other emotions are illegitimate.

The people in the CIBC Run for the Cure promotional videos never express other emotions outside of sadness and cheerfulness, which consequently creates the model for the correct type of philanthropic subject. Foucault’s (1975) work, *Discipline and Punish*, can be utilized to understand the self-surveillance that participants actively engage in. Foucault (1975) uses Jeremy Bentham’s model of the Panopticon to describe the process of self-surveillance, whereby one “inscribes in himself [or herself] the power relation” (p. 203).

Lazar (2007) emphasizes the need to combine the Gramscian concept of hegemony and Foucauldian concept of self-surveillance: “Modern power (and hegemony) is effective because it is mostly cognitive, based on an internalization of gendered norms and acted out routinely in the texts and talk of everyday life” (p. 148). The hegemony and unconscious self-surveillance surrounding the CIBC Run for the Cure is reiterated in the presentation of self at the fundraising event.

The combination of sadness and cheerfulness mingles in the CIBC Run for the Cure promotional videos, which takes viewers on an “emotional rollercoaster.” Participants tell stories of loved ones (always women) who have passed away from breast cancer, which is highly emotional and is likely to provoke tears among some viewers (See *Figure 14*). However, a moment of tears can be readily followed by a moment of cheers. There is literal cheering as people clap while participants take part in the CIBC Run for the Cure, which suggests that the event is not just an emotional release of sadness, but also supportive for breast cancer victims and their families.

Infantalization is a common theme found throughout the promotional videos for the CIBC Run for the Cure. As seen in *Figure 15*, a group of women cheer while also wearing party hats. On the banal level, the party hats merely represent celebration. However, party hats are not items that would typically be found at an adult celebration; rather, party hats are a juvenile party novelty. There are also frequent occurrences of images of hearts (See *Figure 16*), balloons (See *Figure 17*), and, of course, the use of the colour pink. Pink has a strong connection to “girlhood,” which has been secured through the breast cancer movement. Elliott (2007) states, “Pink, in short, is cancer inverted – life, health, play, joy” (p. 525). The pastel pink masks some of the horrible realities of breast cancer: balding,

disfigurement, disease, and death. Instead of womanhood being celebrated, there is a celebration of girlhood or innocence. Ehrenreich (2001) suggests, “[O]bedience is the message behind the infantilizing theme in breast-cancer culture... You are encouraged to regress to a little-girl state, [and] to suspend critical judgment...” (para. 39). The infantilization of the CIBC Run for the Cure promotional videos dismisses the politics surrounding breast cancer, which consequently obscures what is able to be discussed. Blackstone (2004) contends that breast cancer activists avoid having their actions viewed as political: “Mainstream conceptions of being political are oftentimes incongruent with mainstream ideals of women as compassionate yet unfrontational” (pp. 351-352). The promotional videos infantilize the entire CIBC Run for the Cure so that any political discussion is removed, in order not to contradict traditional notions of femininity and not to offend corporate supporters (See Chapter 7).

The promotional videos construct the CIBC Run for the Cure as an apolitical event, and subsequently construct the participants as apolitical. The dismissal of breast cancer politics results in certain topics of discussion, such as environmental factors and governmental policy, being dismissed.

In addition to portraying women as infantilized and apolitical, the promotional videos focus on women’s relationships with their families. Of course, family support is essential for a breast cancer survivor, but the persistent and continual display of family suggests there may be an alternative meaning. Rather than showing support coming from a spouse, siblings, or older children, there is a focus on babies and young children who cannot provide emotional support to a breast cancer victim (See *Figure 18*). The association of women with young children clearly cements the construction of women as mothers.

Interestingly, breast cancer primarily occurs in women between the ages of 50 and 69, with only 20 percent of breast cancer occurring in women under the age of 50 (“Canadian Cancer Statistics,” 2009, p. 22). Most women have children well before their 50s, which exemplifies an inconsistency in the image of the female breast cancer survivor in the promotional videos.

Barthes (1977) contends that everything in advertising is intentional (p. 33), so instead of a reflection of reality, the perpetual association of women with young children connotes women’s role as mothers. In the promotional videos, the quintessential breast cancer victim is represented as a mother. Blackstone (2004) explains that female participants of the breast cancer campaigns lead “...lives that are organized around a heteronormative construction of gender in which women’s primary identity center on their roles as wives and mothers” (p. 358). Children are often shown together with dogs, which further constructs the connotation of the woman as the keeper of the family and home (See *Figure 19*). Consequently, the connotation of images of children and dogs in relation to mothers reinforces the traditional stereotypes of women who do not work outside the home and rather, look after the children and the home. Feminists have made tremendous strides in working towards equality in the work force, but the CIBC Run for the Cure’s promotional videos do not reflect women as anything other than mothers or friends. The promotional videos dismiss women’s careers by constructing the image of the woman as the angel in the home.

In summary, an analysis of the promotional videos for the CIBC Run for the Cure identifies some problems that serve to reinforce a particular type of story about the fundraising event and about the participants. The emphasis on the group and dismissal of

individuality serves to create a continuous discourse about breast cancer where differences are nullified, which obscures the reality of people's experiences with breast cancer. There is an explicit disregard for male breast cancer survivors, as there is no mention of men with breast cancer. This dismissal perpetuates the ideology of breast cancer as a female disease, which may have negative psychological consequences for men with breast cancer. As the specific type of participant is shown, there is the creation of a type of self-surveillance where only certain emotions are permissible and others are unacceptable. The CIBC Run for the Cure promotes infantilization, which removes any prospect of a political discussion about the cause, treatment, or cures for breast cancer. Women's role is not that of a political activist; rather her role as the keeper of the family within the home is reinforced throughout the promotional videos. Overall, the CIBC Run for the Cure promotional videos tell a specific story of the generalizable female cancer survivor, which shapes, masks, and distorts reality.

## **6.5 Movember Promotional Videos**

Even though there are striking statistical similarities in the occurrence of breast cancer and prostate cancer, there are very few similarities in terms of the fundraising efforts. Breast cancer philanthropy is much more popular and well-established than prostate cancer fundraising. Movember began in Canada in 2007 and since that time there has been tremendous growth in participants and fundraising, which attests to the success of the advertising of the campaign.

As a charitable organization, Movember does not utilize the same charitable narratives that have traditionally been employed by non-profit organizations. Movember goes against many of the traditional rules of charitable advertising by not employing



strategies such as the use of empathy, sadness, and a focus on the victim/survivor. Small and Verrochi (2009) state, “Charity advertisements attempt to evoke sympathy for their cause” (p. 777). This strategy is effectively utilized by the CIBC Run for the Cure, but is not incorporated into the Movember marketing strategy. Instead, the advertising focuses more on parties and fun.

The overall advertising strategy of the Movember campaign is quite contradictory to the CIBC Run for the Cure campaign; rather than using emotionality, the tone for the Movember promotional videos is humorous. Movember’s use of humour is atypical of Griffiths’ (2005) suggestion of the “universal charity brand,” which guilts people into participating. However, humour seems to be a logical device because humour has been found to be an effective tool in prostate cancer support groups in getting men to begin discussing taboo topics like urinary incontinence, erectile difficulties, and death (Olfiffe, Ogrodniczuk, Bottorff, Hislop, & Halpin, 2009, p. 920). It is, however, a problem when humour becomes an end, rather than a means, to achieve the objective of generating discussion.

Due to the emphasis on humour, there is the exclusion of other types of emotional displays. Olfiffe et al. (2009) explain, “...an underlying theme that cuts across the different functions of humour is its use as a defense against vulnerable emotions” (p. 924). Emotionality is traditionally considered a feminine characteristic and Movember is trying to distance itself from feminine qualities by emphasizing the reason a man would want to participate in Movember: it is fun.

The 2007 promotional video states, “Movember is fun and positive” (0:40), which exemplifies the overall tone of the promotional videos; however, prostate cancer is not fun

and positive. The promotional videos ignore the men who actually have prostate cancer, as there is no mention or display of any male survivors or victims. The advertising is geared toward younger men who are in college or young male professionals, whereas in reality, prostate cancer is most frequently diagnosed among men aged 60 to 69 (“Canadian Cancer Statistics,” 2009, p. 22). The advertising’s focus and presentation of young men ignores the reality that there are thousands of older men who are suffering and dying from the disease.

A specific type of man is constructed in the Movember promotional videos: “a Mo Bro.” The 2009 promotional video states, “The motivation behind Movember is to bring much needed awareness to prostate cancer and to raise funds for Prostate Cancer Canada” (1:42). However, the promotional videos do not emphasize raising awareness as a quality that a Mo Bro would possess. In all three years of analysis, there is not one Mo Bro shown in the promotional videos who is active in raising awareness for Movember, such as stating statistics or informing men of the importance of going to the doctor. Instead, the few facts about prostate cancer either appear in textual form or are heard as a voiceover (See *Appendices A, B, & C*). With the reality of prostate cancer masked behind an anonymous voice, the veil of male silence about health issues, like prostate cancer, continues to proliferate in the construction of the Mo Bro.

As seen in the 2008 promotional video (See *Figure 20*), Movember is advertised as a transformative event where a Mo Bro is associated with a host of connotative meanings. The promotional videos encourage men to join the campaign and embody the mentality of a Mo Bro. Using Foucault’s (1988) theories of governmentality and self-surveillance, a man participating in Movember has to adhere to a specific constructed image and the Mo Bro is advertised as an individualist, confident, and, most importantly, hyper-masculine man.

Unlike the CIBC Run for the Cure that connects loneliness with images of individual people, Movember equates being alone with authenticity, power, and individuality, which are celebrated (See *Figure 21*). O'Brien, Hunt, and Hart found the celebration of individuality may have to do with the fact that, "Some men experience it [prostate cancer] as a threat to the 'hyperindependence' that is part of the typically conceived hegemonic masculinity" (as cited by Blank, 2008, p. 70). Men have traditionally not taken care of their health as much as women have, and consequently being concerned with one's health is considered a feminine characteristic. Prostate cancer and men's health problems in general have been shrouded by a culture of silence because of the social, psychological, and structural barriers that prevent men from seeking health services (George & Fleming, 2004, p. 345). Rather than Movember breaking the negative construction of a "real man," Movember continues to build into the discourse of hegemonic masculinity.

The understanding of masculinity in the promotional videos can be understood as that which is opposite to femininity. There is a constructed binary about the acceptable forms of masculinity and what it means "to be a man," which runs counter to what it means "to be a woman." Today there is a greater acceptance of different types of masculinity and femininity, as gendered identities are often regarded as being on a continuum rather than as polar opposites. However, the Movember promotional videos hark back to the traditional and sexist understanding of men and women as completely different, while situating men as superior.

According to Spence and Helmreich (1978), sex roles refer to "...the distinguishing characteristics of women and men themselves – to differences in behaviours, personality, abilities, preferences, and the like" (p. 13). Movember's promotional videos seek to

legitimize machismo through the idealization of hyper-masculinity and aggressive maleness (See *Figure 22*). Stereotypical masculinity is characterized as active, aggressive, self-confident, ambitious, strong, and rational; femininity is characterized as passive, dependent, emotional, weak, and interested in appearances (Sayers, 1979, p. 51). “[F]emininity is equated with lack of masculinity and masculinity with lack of femininity” (Spence & Helmreich, 1978, p. 17).

When analyzing the promotional videos, it is necessary to understand that what is missing is as important as what is depicted. The construction of the hegemonic masculine Mo Bro ignores other types of masculinities that do not fit into the traditional gendered binary. The promotional videos are careful to reinforce heterosexuality in the depiction of groups of men. Movember assumes heteronormativity: there is no representation of the various sexual orientations; rather Movember always represents a woman being attracted to a man. This hyper-masculine realm does not allow for freedom of sexuality and rather reinforces heterosexuality throughout the promotional videos. Homosexuality “...raises questions about the binary system instituted through dominant notions of masculinity and femininity, whereby individuals must fit into either/or categories of male/female, heterosexual/homosexual, active/passive, and so on” (Buchbinder, 1994, p. 21). Movember does not break the binary; rather, Movember reinforces the binary by institutionalizing male heterosexuality as the norm. What it means to “be a man” in Movember is explicitly not to be a homosexual man, which is reinforced because of the moustache’s complicated history as a gay signifier.

Falomir-Pichastar and Mugny (2009) found, “Men would be more rejecting of homosexuals in order to fulfill their need to affirm their masculinity by distancing

themselves from those with whom they do not want to be confused” (p. 1234). Similarly, the overall intolerance of homosexuality in Movember can be understood as a defense mechanism to maintain a positive male gendered identity among participants. An explicit heterosexuality is reinforced, as exemplified in the 2007 promotional video when a woman is attracted to and flirts with a Mo Bro (See *Figure 23*). Women’s role in the promotional videos could be to distance homosexual tendencies from Movember because any large gathering of men has the chance of being interpreted as homoerotic.

Evidenced in the promotional videos from 2007 to 2009, women’s role in Movember has changed over time. In the 2007 Movember promotional video, there is no mention of women at all. The video asks people to become a “citizen of Movember,” which is achieved by a man growing a moustache. Consequently, women are not given access to be full “citizens,” which has resonance with times when women were not considered “persons” in Canada, prior to 1929. In the 2008 video, the only mention of women is in the words, “Mo Bros and Mo Sistas unite!” that appear on the screen (1:16). However, there is no indication of what women’s role is because the emphasis is still on men growing a moustache. Throughout the video there is a stream of coloured light that when it hits a person they are transformed into a citizen of Movember (See *Figure 24*). Women are never “transformed” by the light and hence are never part of Movember (even though a group of cows are), which points to a problematic ideology in women’s role in Movember. Finally, in the 2009 promotional video women’s role is more formally acknowledged, but the historical transition suggests an “add women and stir” approach, which does little to change the overarching philanthropic structure of Movember. The 2009 video states that Mo Sistas are “ladies who support their guys or just love moustaches” (0:51). Women’s primary role

becomes that of providing “support” for men. Furthermore, women in Movember are also shown to be reliant on men. Men are frequently shown individually; however, women are always shown in a group or with a man (See *Figure 25*).

Even though women are shown in problematic ways, there are other minority groups that are not reflected at all in the promotional videos. Canada prides itself on the diversity of the Canadian population; however, the promotional videos show a continuous flow of young Caucasian men. Throughout the three years of analysis, there is only one occurrence where a non-Caucasian man is shown (See *Figure 26*). An Asian man is shown in a traditional Asian outfit near the end of the 2009 promotional video for less than one second in a collection of images from the Gala Partés. In comparison, the CIBC Run for the Cure embraces multiculturalism by showing a host of people from different backgrounds. Obviously, the Movember promotional videos do not reflect the diversity that exists in Canada, which may reflect the reality that very few men from minority groups participate in Movember or the promotional videos may be selective in only displaying Caucasian men in the videos because this is the desired Mo Bro. Either way, the goal of the promotional videos is to attract a specific type of person to Movember. The Mo Bro that is advertised as almost wholly Caucasian excludes a vast portion of the multicultural Canadian population.

In conclusion, the future of charitable fundraising may follow Movember’s model of using fun rather than sadness to attract people to participate in the fundraising events due to the growing success of this fundraising event. Even though Movember’s promotional videos can be considered more enjoyable than the CIBC Run for the Cure promotional videos due to the upbeat nature of the videos, the Movember videos similarly display various problematic representations.

Considering that prostate cancer is a disease that attacks a man's sense of gendered identity, the promotional videos have been created in an attempt to re-masculinize the victims and participants through a constructed hyper-masculine identity, which is done at the expense of alternative types of masculinity, as well as femininity. Humour is used as a tool, but the emphasis on humour creates intolerance for other emotional displays. Male individuality is celebrated, which reinforces the stereotype of the man who does not need support; on the other hand, women are never shown as individuals, but always in groups or as being reliant on a Mo Bro. The promotional videos advertise the Mo Bro as the quintessential macho younger man, which dismisses the reality of prostate cancer being an older man's disease and neglects men who are currently struggling with the disease. Furthermore, the promotional videos do not reflect the Canadian ethnic diversity, which suggests the target market for Movember excludes all men who are not Caucasian. Like the CIBC Run for the Cure, Movember is constructing a particular narrative that has problematic consequences.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

In conclusion, both the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember promotional videos are successful in gaining participation in the fundraising events. If the mere goal of these organizations is to raise money, then they have achieved their goal. However, if the organizations are to be held responsible for shaping the discourse surrounding the disease, then the representations of the promotional videos need to be examined. As exhibited, both organizations utilize problematic images and narratives that construct an overly narrow understanding of the philanthropic subject. The specific representations of the cancer survivor and philanthropic subject are so prevalent because each organization is attempting

to solidify the correct type of philanthropic subject that is ultimately financially advantageous for their corporate sponsors. The most important finding in this research is that when a particular story is told, then other narratives are excluded. Due to the dominance of both of these organizations and relative monopoly over fundraising for their specific cause, these organizations are capable of creating and distributing the discourse that is circulated about the disease. Problematically, the discourses are exclusionary and promote a division along gendered lines that serve to encourage gendered binaries.



## 7. CORPORATE SUPPORT

### 7.1 Introduction

In terms of philanthropy, people have the cultural perception of a hierarchy of giving. Donating time to a charitable cause, such as participating in the CIBC Run for the Cure or growing a moustache for Movember, is the highest form of donation. A monetary donation in the form of a signed cheque is the lowest form of donation. In the middle is the donation that comes as a commodified purchase. Thrivent Financial for Lutherans, a Fortune 500 financial services organization, found that by a ratio of more than two to one, people believe that it is more important to give time rather than money to charitable organizations (USA Today, 2005, para. 7). It seems like *selflessly* donating has become conflated with *selfishly* donating. People are more likely to donate to a charity if they get something in return: when participating in cause-related events, one gains a sense of social approval and when purchasing a cause-related product, one also gains a sense of social approval and gains a material object. This chapter explores the corporate support of both the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember and shows that the corporate sponsors do not merely provide funds to make the events possible, but they also shape the events by stripping them of political and activist content, while also constructing the identities' of participants and the research interests.

Corporate sponsors make the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember financially successful. As stated in Chapter 3.5, Kedrowski and Sarow (2007) outline the three types of corporate support: corporate foundations, sponsorships, and cause-related marketing. Interestingly, the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember attract different types of corporate

support. Companies wishing to align themselves with the CIBC Run for the Cure, and the parent company, the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation, use cause-related marketing, whereas companies wishing to align themselves with Movember opt for sponsorships.

## **7.2 CIBC Run for the Cure Corporate Support**

The commercial orientation of philanthropy today is highly problematic. The current discourse surrounding breast cancer stresses that consumers, rather than citizens, can create a future without breast cancer by immersing themselves in the commercialized world of mass-produced goods. Although the CIBC Run for the Cure is “volunteer-led,” corporate sponsors play a significant role. Corporate sponsors explain that they partner with the CIBC Run for the Cure because they are committed to conquering breast cancer, but the reality is that the CIBC Run for the Cure is a great marketing avenue for these companies.

For the corporate sponsors of the CIBC Run for the Cure, participants are viewed as a captive audience to be bombarded with advertisements, as well as to be “taste testers” for the corporately sponsored products because corporate sponsors are more interested in profits than the social cause. Some companies are more discreet in describing their contribution to the CIBC Run for the Cure, such as Country Harvest “supplying bagels” and Nature Valley “providing granola bars” to the CIBC Run for the Cure sites. Other companies, state their interest in the CIBC Run for the Cure more blatantly, such as PepsiCo’s declaration:

Make sure to visit the food area at your Run site to try the various products available. Participants will have the ability to sample Sun Chips® and Smartfood Popcorn Clusters and refresh themselves with Dole® juice, Dole Sparklers® and Lipton Green Tea®! (“National sponsors,” 2010, para. 32).

The use of the word “sample” indicates the marketing interest of PepsiCo, rather than a pure philanthropy.

Not only are the sponsors very visually present at the CIBC Run for the Cure, but the corporate sponsorships also shape the event by ensuring that corporate interests are maintained. The CIBC Run for the Cure is apolitical and non-activist. The various sites of the CIBC Run for the Cure across Canada draw in large numbers of people, including decision-makers and the media, which creates a platform to potentially alter the current discourse. If the CIBC Run for the Cure were to advocate or protest for change then there would be a large outlet for those voices to be heard; however, corporations sponsoring the event do not want to get mixed up with activism and other controversial issues. Even though the reality of breast cancer is that victims experience pain, suffering, and death, the corporate interests in the event ensure that a celebration persists in order to keep people in the “buying mood.”

The CIBC Run for the Cure is the largest single-day fundraising event in Canada, but the fundraising for the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation extends far beyond this one-day event. Before, during, and after the CIBC Run for the Cure, people are encouraged to “Shop for the Cure” by spending money on corporately sponsored products that give proceeds to the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation. The volunteer-as-citizen ideology is replaced with a consumer-as-citizen ideology, where people are presented with the mere agency to choose what products to purchase and the purchases shape the identity of the consumers. People have internalized the logic of what it means to be a good citizen, and, with neoliberal governmentality, it means a desire to purchase products, consequently boosting the economy and feeding into the capitalist system.

The CIBC Run for the Cure is a similar event to the widely popular Susan G. Komen Race for the Cure in the United States, except without the clever wordplay on the word

“race:” race referring to the actual physical race, as well as a rush to find a cure to breast cancer. The Canadian version of the walkathon is more direct in stating the major corporate sponsorship of the event, as exemplified by the placement of the word “CIBC” before the title of the event: the *CIBC* Run for the Cure. Prior to 1997, the event was called the Run for the Cure, without the corporate label attached to the front of the title (“Run for the Cure,” 2010, para. 4). This is not to suggest that before 1997 there was no corporate involvement; rather, there were already a host of other official sponsors, but at this time CIBC came on as the principal corporate sponsor. As an event gains popularity, a corporate sponsor often attaches itself to the cause as a way to obtain a targeted marketing strategy.

Aside from CIBC, the national sponsors of the CIBC Run for the Cure include: New Balance, East Side Mario’s, Running Room, Canpar, and Revlon. The national partners include: Country Harvest, Nature Valley, Pepsi Dole Sparklers, Lipton Green Tea and Smartfood Popcorn Clusters (“National sponsors,” 2010). Most of the companies provide support to the CIBC Run for the Cure either through cause-related marketing of specific products (such as the New Balance 760 women’s running shoes with a breast cancer ribbon), or provide products and services to the CIBC Run for the Cure (such as Country Harvest providing bagels at the Run sites).

Since the CIBC Run for the Cure is only a one-day event, many organizations wish to extend their commitment to the parent company in an attempt to bolster their brand awareness and association with breast cancer philanthropy. All but two of the companies (Pepsi Dole Sparklers and Smartfood Popcorn Clusters) are also year-round corporate sponsors for the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation. Since the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation is the leading national volunteer organization dedicated to breast cancer, and

because breast cancer is such a “safe” cause, it is not surprising that many companies have formed alliances with this cause.

There are over 60 companies across Canada who support the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation (“Corporate partners for the cure,” 2010, para. 1). Most of these companies utilize cause-related marketing by attaching the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation logo to their products, which enables easy identification of the corporate brand with breast cancer philanthropy. A trip to the grocery store provides evidence of the bombardment of pink products that support breast cancer. Even though every dollar that goes towards the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation is beneficial, companies are not altruistically supporting breast cancer:

Rather, it is that cause-related marketing has emerged as a technique by which to understand, represent, and act upon the desires of consumers to be generous and civic-minded citizens, albeit in ways that are ultimately profitable for corporations. (King, 2001, p. 116).

Kedrowski and Sarow (2007) have noted, “From a public policy perspective, cause-related marketing has been criticized for exploiting causes rather than contributing to them” (p. 194). No form of charity is ever completely altruistic, but rather there is always something that a corporation gains from the charitable act: a company gains a sense of corporate responsibility (while the donation is also tax-deductable). Of course, the companies need to have a financial incentive or else they would not partner with the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation. Just because the donation is not purely altruistic is not the problem; rather, the effect that the corporate support has on the type of fundraising that results is the issue.

There is little transparency in the corporate donations towards the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation. In 2009, for example, CIBC claimed they donated \$3 million to the

CIBC Run for the Cure; however, this money also includes the contributions of 13,000 participants who had allegiance to CIBC (“National Run sponsors,” 2010, para. 9). CIBC merely piggy-backs on the donations of others and it is not possible to establish how much money was actually donated by the company itself. Of the \$3 million donation, \$1.76 million was raised through the CIBC pink collection that sells merchandise with “net proceeds” going towards the CIBC Run for the Cure; however, the net proceeds are only about 50% of the purchase price because CIBC’s costs and taxes are deducted from the donation (“CIBC pink collection,” n.d., para. 3). Without reading the fine print, consumers can assume that 100% of their purchase is going towards the cause, and as a result, they are misled. Consumers need to know how much money is actually going to be donated to breast cancer in order to determine whether the contribution is significant enough to warrant the purchase.

The fact that breast cancer cause-related marketing has been so readily adopted by companies indicates something about the constructed identity of women as consumers. Women, not men, are specifically targeted through cause-related marketing using the vehicle of breast cancer to sell products. In the breast cancer culture, women are given access to participate through the purchase of commodities and are addressed as passive consumers rather than as an active citizenry. This pseudodemocratic environment creates a situation whereby women are given a false sense of public engagement. Women who purchase the pink products truly want their actions to have an impact, but are being led to believe that their action begins and ends with the purchase of a pink product and participating in the CIBC Run for the Cure.

The Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation website has a page dedicated to “How you can help,” which suggests that along with volunteering time and donating money to the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation, one can also help by participating in the CIBC Run for the Cure, Shop for the Cure, or Cook for the Cure (“How you can help,” 2006, para. 4). All of the options are presented as equally beneficial opportunities to aid the breast cancer movement.

The Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation website states: “You can play an important part in creating a future without breast cancer through the purchase of selected quality merchandise” (“Shop for the Cure,” 2006, para. 1). The corporately sponsored products fall under the categories of: For the Kitchen, For the Home, Fashion Wise, Office Essentials, Fit Wear, For Fun, Sporting Gear, and Beauty. Products ranging from KitchenAid appliances, to M&M’s, to a stiletto-shaped Scotch tape dispenser, to a Sears Hope Bear, to Cashmere toilet paper; all of these products are pink, thus colour is used to unite the products under the banner of breast cancer philanthropy. Consequently, pink allows for easy identification of the breast cancer “brand.”

Every product, with the exception of a Retract-A-Bit self-storing screwdriver, is a stereotypical feminized object. Even though tools generally fall into the realm of masculinity, the Retract-A-Bit screwdriver is feminized by the pink colour and the fact that it is a small, compact, and easy-to-use tool that was designed specifically for women, which is based on the assumption that if women want, or need a tool, it must be a simple tool. Through the purchase of pink products, the identity of a specific type of women is being constructed: a very feminized woman.

According to Ehrenreich (2001), “The ultrafeminine theme of the breast-cancer ‘marketplace’ – the prominence, for example of cosmetics and jewelry – could be understood as a response to the treatments’ disastrous effects on one’s looks” (para. 15). In an attempt for breast cancer victims to reclaim and assert the visible signs of femininity, a host of pink products are available for purchase. The cosmetic industry and the fashion industry have been strongly drawn to the breast cancer cause. Singer found that “...consumers could choose from over sixteen products from Estee Lauder brand, twelve from Avon, eight from Revlon, and five from Sephora” where profits went towards breast cancer funding (as cited by Kedrowski & Sarow, 2007, p. 1990). The emphasis on beauty in the corporate breast cancer movement creates the standard for an acceptable type of breast cancer victim. It is expected that a woman with breast cancer cannot let her looks diminish, despite the horrendous toll that the disease takes on the body.

Just as a woman without cancer needs to work hard to achieve the unattainable feminine beauty, corporate interests encourage breast cancer patients to work even harder as they are given the opportunity to purchase their femininity through pink commodities. Lynn Leclerc, a breast cancer survivor, explains on the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation Finding Hope blog, “I did not look sick! It was quite the opposite; people could not even tell I was going through treatment. I always prided myself on looking great” (Leclerc, 2009, para. 7). Women’s attempt to hide the disease prevents them from attaining a sense of group identity as breast cancer victims in everyday life. Women feel isolated in their experience of breast cancer as they put on their wigs, pink jewellery, and breast cancer sponsored make-up. In reality, there is nothing radical or activist in wearing a pink-ribbon necklace.



The CIBC Run for the Cure and the corporate sponsors send contradictory messages. For one day a year, at the CIBC Run for the Cure, breast cancer “survivors” are encouraged to stand out from the crowd by wearing the pink T-shirts. After the CIBC Run for the Cure, a woman with breast cancer is encouraged to buy a host of pink products that allow her to disguise her cancer and blend in with other “normal” women.

The physical effects of breast cancer is never depicted or discussed by the corporate sponsors or at CIBC Run for Cure. The image of the breast cancer survivor is that of a beautiful woman surrounded by pink commodities. According to Ehrenreich (2001), with such a focus on consumerism “...you can get so busy comparing attractive head scarves that you forget to question a form of treatment that temporarily renders you both bald and immuno-incompetent” (para. 26). Being positioned as mere consumers, women lose their agency to impact real change. To “join the fight” against breast cancer means to fall within the consumer culture. This shift changes the age-old saying of “shop ’til you drop” to “shop until it stops.”

Rather than debate the validity of essentialist claims, it is important to recognize that a woman’s choice to support a company that uses cause-related marketing may be rational and carefully considered: if one needs to purchase bathroom tissue, why not purchase the Cashmere Pink bathroom tissue? Rather than assuming that women are being duped into purchasing from companies that utilize breast cancer cause-related marketing, women are actively supporting the companies they find corporately responsible. The problem is that there is little transparency by companies who utilize cause-related marketing. Consumers know that money is donated to the cause, but are often unaware how much money is actually donated, where the money goes, what types of programs are being supported, and

what is done to ensure that the company itself does not contribute to breast cancer (“Think before you pink,” 2009).

The corporations that align themselves with breast cancer not only create the philanthropic identity of women as that of consumers, they also mask critical issues in breast cancer prevention and treatment. The CIBC Run for the Cure and its sponsors are fixated on finding a cure; as evidenced in the name the CIBC Run for the *Cure*. Bake for the *Cure*, Shop for the *Cure*, Run for the *Cure*, and the proliferation of commodities have the sole focus of raising money to find a cure. Of course, a “cure” to breast cancer would revolutionize the life trajectory of breast cancer victims, but in this blind focus on the cure, there is a dismissal of more controversial issues, such as screening mammograms, avoidance of environment issues, and dismissal of politics surrounding breast cancer as a whole.

The obsession with finding a cure instead of working towards prevention is significant because there is little money to be made in prevention. Genetics account for less than 50% of breast cancer, which indicates that a large proportion of breast cancer is caused by environmental and lifestyle choices (“Causes of breast cancer,” 2010, para. 4). Campaigns to support eating healthy foods, exercising regularly, limiting alcohol, reducing artificial hormones, and maintaining a healthy body weight are rarely part of the agenda of corporate philanthropy. Cancer treatment, on the other hand, is big business where large pharmaceutical companies greatly profit from treating cancer patients. Furthermore, the number of lives saved through prevention is not something that the organizations can quantify, nor is it a very interesting issue in terms of marketing.

Aside from a cure, the companies advocate that they are raising “awareness” for breast cancer; however, there is already a tremendous amount of breast cancer awareness. Most women are very aware of breast cancer because of the corporate interest in breast cancer as a marketing venture. Many charitable organizations start off their campaigning by raising awareness; however, once a particular level of awareness has been reached, there needs to be more. At this point, there needs to be more critical analysis about the causes and treatments of breast cancer because awareness of the disease itself among many Canadian women has reached a plateau.

According to Ehrenreich (2001), the breast cancer culture hides the reality of “...the Cancer Industrial Complex: the multinational corporate enterprise that with the one hand doles out carcinogens and disease, and with the other, offers expensive, semi-toxic pharmaceutical treatments” (para. 40). Think Before you Pink, a project encouraging consumers to be more critical of pink ribbon products, similarly refers to “pinkwashers” as, “A company that purports to care about breast cancer by promoting a pink ribboned product, but manufactures products that are linked to the disease” (“Before you buy pink,” n.d., para. 1). For example, Breast Cancer Awareness Month in October is sponsored by AstraZeneca, a multinational pharmaceutical corporation, which was a subsidiary of Imperial Chemical Industries, a leading producer of the carcinogenic products that have been linked to breast cancer (King, 2006, p. xxi). The aim of the Breast Cancer Awareness Month was to promote mammography as the most important and effective weapon in the fight against breast cancer because AstraZeneca’s primary interest in promoting mammography is to raise detection rates and consequently increase their sales of tamoxifen, the best-selling cancer drug (King, 2006, p. xxi). The focus on women merely consuming

products to raise money for the cure masks the reality of complex politics behind some of the sponsors and many of the issues surrounding breast cancer.

Behind the corporate pink bears, pink ribbons, and pink “cult” is the reality that cause-related marketing allows women to feel as though they played a role in supporting breast cancer by making a purchase, without further assessing the corporate sponsors and the surrounding issues related to cancer philanthropy. As Ehrenreich (2001) suggests, “Breast cancer provides a way of doing something for women, without being feminist” (para. 21). As a result, breast cancer philanthropy is not based on feminist principles, but rather corporate principles.

### **7.3 Movember Corporate Support**

In the same way that AstraZeneca designated October to be Breast Cancer Awareness Month (the CIBC Run for the Cure is held in October every year), it also designated September as Prostate Cancer Awareness Month. However, nothing like the awareness that developed during Breast Cancer Awareness Month ever occurred in Prostate Cancer Awareness Month. Since Movember was established in Canada, the unofficial awareness month has shifted to November. In fact, Movember became the name for “the month formerly known as November” (“About,” 2009, para. 5). This move from September to November serves as a metaphor for the shift from corporately owned awareness to more of a grassroots awareness that was started “...over a couple of beers” (“About,” 2009, para. 4).

What started out as a moustache-growing event and evolved into a grassroots charitable organization to raise money for prostate cancer has turned into an immensely popular global charity. As the theory of hegemony suggests, whenever any fashion, trend, or

movement becomes large enough, it is co-opted by corporate capitalist interests. As Movember has grown in size and popularity it has gained corporate support in the form of corporate funding.

Huge strides have been made in gaining corporate support, participants, and donations since Movember began operating in Canada. As Movember gains popularity, corporations may begin to brand themselves in association with prostate cancer philanthropy. However, companies that will be attracted to support prostate cancer will be very different from the companies that use breast cancer cause-related marketing because of the emotional connotations attached to the major fundraising events for breast cancer and prostate cancer.

In 2009, Movember had four major sponsors: Shave Dermalogica, Wahl, SMART car, and Canadian Club. Two of the four companies, Shave Dermalogica and Wahl, specialize in products for men's (facial) hair grooming, which make their choice to sponsor Movember obvious because throughout the month men shave their beards, while maintaining and shaping their moustaches.

The association between Movember and Canadian Club and SMART is less apparent. Movember participants who raised over \$100 had the chance to "win" one of two SMART cars; however, the cars were only "won" for one year and then they needed to be returned. There were also two Movember-themed SMART cars that were driven around Toronto and Vancouver during November (Brooke, 2009, para. 2). As a result, the company got tremendous exposure. Due to the tiny size of the SMART, the car is generally considered to be more of a girl/woman's car than a man's car. SMART used Movember in order to gain attention and social acceptance among young men. Consequently, SMART's

decision to sponsor Movember was indeed “smart” from a marketing perspective because it allowed the company to increase its marketability to young men.

Canadian Club is the final major sponsor, and they clearly state on their website why they teamed up with Movember. Whisky is generally considered to be a “man’s drink,” which explains why Canadian Club would be interested in being a corporate sponsor for Movember. Based on the following statement, it is obvious that Canadian Club does not pretend to have prostate cancer awareness or fundraising as their main objective; rather, Canadian Club is a proud sponsor of the moustache, instead of prostate cancer fundraising.

The Canadian Club website states:

What do moustaches and manhattans have in common? Canadian Club & Movember believe they are timeless tokens of classic masculinity. Just as Canadian Club champions classic cocktail culture, Movember believes in an ageless facial fashion perfectly suited to sit atop a rocks class (sic.) filled with CC. (Canadian Club, n.d., para. 2).

As evidenced above, the emphasis on a stereotypical or classic masculinity is reinforced. Problematically, not discussing men’s vulnerability, such as men’s health issues, is also a “token of classic masculinity.” What is needed is a re-appropriation of masculinity where men feel comfortable discussing health issues rather than a reiteration of classic masculinity.

The fixation on the moustache and masculinity is what attracts the corporate sponsors to Movember. The corporate sponsors’ emphasis on the moustache further segregates women from Movember. Unlike breast cancer’s corporate support, where the corporate sponsors state their desire to work towards breast cancer research, Movember’s corporate sponsors are interested in the entertainment and novelty value of the moustache. The commitment of all four of these companies to raise money for prostate cancer only

endured during Movember, and ceased once the men shaved their moustaches at the end of the month. In fact, at the end of Movember, the list of the corporate sponsors was removed from the Movember website, evidencing that their support to prostate cancer had ended. Accordingly, Movember's corporate support is completely superficial due to the lack of enduring commitment to prostate cancer as a charitable cause.

The participants and the corporate sponsors are celebrating the moustache; raising money and awareness for prostate cancer is a secondary issue. As a result of the celebration of the moustache, Movember is apolitical as the focus is on the moustache rather than prostate cancer itself. The celebration of the moustache serves as a metaphor for a celebration of masculinity and men. The critical differences between prostate cancer philanthropy and breast cancer philanthropy are that prostate cancer is a relatively new charitable cause and men's health has not been a popular charitable issue. Breast cancer philanthropy, on the other hand has been widely successful at raising awareness and removing the stigma of breast cancer (for women). Considering that Movember is in its infancy, the first mandate should be to remove the stigma of men discussing men's health issues. The corporations that align themselves with Movember should have the same focus; however, this is not represented in the corporate sponsorships.

To Movember's credit, there is less of an emphasis on finding a cure for prostate cancer, in comparison to the CIBC Run for the Cure's fixation on the cure for breast cancer.

The Movember website states:

Prostate Cancer Canada will use the money raised by Movember for the development of programs related to awareness, public education, advocacy, support of those affected, and research into the prevention, detection, treatment and cure of prostate cancer. ("About Movember," 2009, para. 7).

Finding a cure for prostate cancer is one of many of the declared mandates of Movember and Prostate Cancer Canada, which provides a more balanced view on the issues facing men with prostate cancer.

As with breast cancer corporate support, there is little transparency in what percentage of donated money goes towards prostate cancer. In addition, there is also a lack of public awareness of how much money the corporate sponsors donate towards the cause. Some of the sponsors for the CIBC Run for the Cure at least give a total figure of how much money they donated, even though the breakdown is disguised. In contrast, a corporate sponsor's financial commitment to prostate cancer is not known. As a result, there needs to be more corporate transparency.

There should also be greater corporate transparency regarding the reason young men are the target audience of Movember. As evidenced in Movember's promotional videos, there is a total focus on young men as the prime target audience for Movember's marketing materials. Even though prostate cancer is most frequently diagnosed among older men, the marketing of the event is geared towards young male adults. Again, the corporate interests of the sponsors come into play because men aged 18 to 34 are a highly coveted demographic for corporations (Mayer, 2008, para. 1). This demographic is frequently targeted by corporations because young men are considered to be such a desirable target market due to their young age and disposable incomes. The focus on young men in the marketing neglects the reality that prostate cancer is an older man's disease and further overlooks the older men who are currently battling cancer merely because older men are not considered a good marketing demographic for corporations.



Aside from being ageist, the type of corporate support that Movember, and Prostate Cancer Canada in general, receives is very gendered. The corporations want to heighten their masculinity and their appeal among men. However, in this process the corporate sponsors are strengthening the binary between men and women by emphasizing the differences, and promoting masculinity. Rather, what is needed is a collaboration of both men and women to work towards prostate cancer awareness and funding.

Breast cancer philanthropy places great emphasis on cause-related marketing; in comparison, men in Movember are not targeted through cause-related marketing as shoppers. Prostate Cancer Canada does not offer a shopping page; rather, people are invited to get involved by donating time, or money, or advocating and creating awareness of prostate cancer as a disease. There are a mere two products for purchase (a scarf and a tie) on the Prostate Cancer Canada website, which are not well advertised; the Movember website sells six products. A grand total of eight products that support prostate cancer pales in comparison to the countless products that support breast cancer. Outside of November there is very little sustained commitment to prostate cancer and yet prostate cancer is a pressing issue that needs more publicity.

The few Movember merchandise items that exist place emphasis on the moustache, rather than on prostate cancer, which could leave onlookers unaware that the moustache merchandise (such as Arbitrage moustache-shaped cuff links) is actually associated with prostate cancer. These products do little to raise awareness of prostate cancer because few people are aware of the moustache as a symbol of prostate cancer.

Despite the fact that Movember has four major corporate sponsors and Prostate Cancer Canada has 25 corporate sponsors, the logo of Prostate Cancer Canada is not found

on a single product (“Corporate sponsors,” 2010, para. 1). The corporate support comes in the form of sponsorships rather than through cause-related marketing. Sponsoring companies feel comfortable having their advertising appear on the Movember webpage, but are not yet content with the idea of the general public seeing this affiliation. Prostate cancer has remained a very taboo subject, much like breast cancer was in the past, and prostate cancer awareness is what is desperately needed.

As stated in Chapter 3.5, prostate cancer is not considered a “sexy” cause. In addition, prostate cancer is a very sensitive topic of discussion for men because of the various side effects that are considered to attack a man’s masculinity, such as a man’s loss of virility. Discussing their health issues has been extremely taboo for men, and corporations have continued to follow this trend of silence. As a result, companies that want to be affiliated with Movember have to first reassert the companies’ masculinity in order to not lose credibility among male consumers. Corporate sponsors feel comfortable having their marketing associated with Movember because Movember has removed the embarrassment and reinforced the “masculinity” into the fundraising event raising money for prostate cancer; however, the companies are still reticent to be directly and visually linked to Prostate Cancer Canada.

If the main corporate objective is to raise awareness for prostate cancer, then the corporate sponsors should readily advertise the importance of prostate cancer examination and prevention in the marketplace. The corporate sponsors’ logos are not familiar to most consumers because many of these companies that support prostate cancer as a cause through monetary donations are umbrella corporations, instead of companies that sell individual products found in grocery stores, in malls, and in everyday life. Even those companies that

sell products and could brand themselves with the Movember logo, such as Canadian Club, do not do so.

There is a deliberate choice to not associate men with consumerism. Even though the moustache is “like the pink ribbon” for breast cancer, the critical difference is that Movember’s awareness signifier does not need to be purchased (“About,” 2009, para. 5). Men are distanced from consumerist practices and instead rely on a more “homegrown” type of fundraising effort; however, an organization that relies on corporate sponsors cannot be considered completely grassroots.

Even though men are generally removed from consumerism, women rely on consumerism in order to gain access to Movember. Women’s overall participation in Movember is marginalized, but women are sought out in Movember as consumers. For instance, at many university campuses fake moustaches were sold for people who were not growing a moustache (specifically women); consequently, women had to make a purchase in order to gain access to Movember. Consumption does not play an important role in the effort to raise money for Movember, but the few products that are available on the Movember site are geared equally towards women and men as consumers. Women can participate in Movember through consumerism; however, this type of “equality” merely returns to stereotypes of the female shopper and does nothing to change women’s lack of inclusion in Movember.

Many female-oriented charities have adopted cause-related marketing as a fundamental part of their fundraising. In contrast, Movember has generally distanced itself from cause-related marketing because of the strong link between female shopping activity and cause-related marketing. If Movember were to wholly dismiss women in cause-related

marketing, then Movember and the corporate sponsors could lose a large percentage of the potential revenue. Products are now targeted directly at the female shopper through products, such as the “I Heart Mo” T-shirt (“I heart mo tee,” 2009, para. 1). The fact that women are specifically targeted by consumerism in Movember reveals the constructed identity of women as consumers.

Overall, Movember is new to corporate sponsorship because the organization itself is relatively new. Since Movember’s inception, various corporate sponsorships have formed that have been fixated on the moustache as an object of cultural fascination, rather than focusing on prostate cancer as a disease that kills thousands of Canadian men every year. Movember’s corporate sponsors exhibit no enduring commitment to the fight against prostate cancer, which is evidenced by their one time donation. Movember’s corporate sponsors are not truly committed to supporting prostate cancer fundraising and awareness, which mirrors participants’ lack of enduring commitment. A commitment to classic masculinity is repeated throughout the corporate support, while women’s only access to Movember is through consumerism. The merchandise focuses on the moustache, instead of prostate cancer, which does little to lift the veil of shame and secrecy around prostate cancer. There is a distancing between Mo Bros and consumerism in order to separate female shopping activities from the classic masculinity. Rather than a marketing novelty, prostate cancer is an enduring problem and the seriousness is not reflected in the corporate sponsorships (“What is prostate cancer,” 2009, para. 3).

## **7.4 Conclusion**

It is very difficult for a charitable organization to be successful at raising financial support without alliances with corporate sponsors. Corporate sponsors are able to contribute

large sums of money that individual donors simply cannot match, thus the importance of corporate support cannot be minimized; however, it is problematic when the corporate involvement (negatively) shapes the overall charitable events. Corporate sponsors will always have alternative motives for donating to a charity rather than pure philanthropy, but this does not suggest that all philanthropic corporate support is wrong.

It is clear that corporations want to be aligned with charitable organizations because corporate support boosts a company's sales, while the company gains the cultural perception of being compassionate and socially relevant. CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember, on the other hand, gain only money from the corporate support and this is always done at a cost. Charitable organizations always need to act in a way that aligns with the corporate interests or else the charity could lose its corporate support. In this way, the corporations have a tremendous power to influence the charitable events. Corporations do not want to be involved with political events; consequently, both the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember are stripped of politics and activism. Both charitable fundraisers are focused on celebration: the CIBC Run for the Cure celebrates the breast cancer survivor, while Movember celebrates the moustache. While supporting the achievements of breast cancer and prostate cancer organizations is important, there are many things that should not be celebrated about breast cancer and prostate cancer. The corporate sponsors have latched onto the CIBC Run for the Cure's emotional component and Movember's humorous moustache. Neither focuses on the current reality of the tremendous death toll that breast cancer and prostate cancer have, because death is certainly not something that corporate sponsors would want to be associated with. The corporate commitment to the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember needs to be held more accountable and more transparent so

consumer-citizens have full knowledge of the products they purchase and the companies they support.

## 8. CONCLUSION

### 8.1 Summary of Findings

This thesis has traced the history of walkathons and moustaches, analyzed the promotional videos and the corporate support of each charitable event in order to understand the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember. A historical understanding permits an appreciation that nothing can ever be viewed in isolation and is always influenced by the past. The CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember exhibit the current “citizenship-through-volunteerism” type of philanthropy whereby personal philanthropy is celebrated at the expense of political agitation. It was found that both organizations create groups that are expected to perform their masculinity or femininity at the expense of the other group: Movember performs masculinity while dismissing femininity and the CIBC Run for the Cure essentializes a constructed femininity.

An examination of the walkathon in history revealed that the first walkathon, Miles for Millions, and the current CIBC Run for the Cure are similar in some ways, but they are also very different. There has been a shift in the type of charitable fundraising resulting in the events being less complicated and less political, with the ultimate goal being the amount of money raised. The CIBC Run for the Cure raises money for completely uncontroversial topics, does not work towards fighting structural inequality, and people gain their sense of satisfaction through the amount of money raised.

Moving from a historical perspective to the marketing of the CIBC Run for the Cure, the promotional videos perpetuate an overarching narrative of *the* breast cancer survivor in which all women’s, not men’s, experiences of breast cancer are expressed as a unified story.

The CIBC Run for the Cure places emphasis on hyper-femininity. As exemplified by the promotional videos, the CIBC Run for the Cure conforms to “the universal charity brand,” whereby the “What’s in it for me?” question is answered by emphasizing femininity and compassion.

By examining the corporate support of the CIBC Run for the Cure, it was found that corporate sponsors stress that consumers, instead of citizens, can change the future of breast cancer through the purchase of corporately sponsored pink products. At the CIBC Run for the Cure events, corporate interests want to ensure that all events are positive and only allow celebration, which consequently limits the emotional ranges, as well as the types of issues discussed at the events. There is a clear obsession with finding the cure, rather than prevention, because prevention cannot be quantified by organizations and is therefore less interesting; however, being so fixated on a cure neglects the current problems that exist with breast cancer prevention, detection, and treatment. The totalizing focus of women consuming the products of corporate sponsors does little to unveil the complex politics of the corporate sponsors and the issues surrounding breast cancer.

Like the CIBC Run for the Cure, the history, the promotional videos, and the corporate support of Movember were analyzed in order to understand the charitable branding. The Movember moustache is supposed to be an authentic, active, and masculine signifier of cancer awareness, but the moustache as signifier specifically excludes women, as well as men from various cultures who typically have minimal facial hair.

The emphasis on the moustache is of primary importance in Movember, which relegates prostate cancer to being of secondary importance. Use of the moustache as awareness ribbon for prostate cancer and the choice to use the moustache as an awareness



ribbon for prostate cancer is specifically chosen and has particular historical significance. However, Movember's utilization of the moustache as a ribbon is different from traditional awareness ribbons.

The contentious utilization of the moustache is not discussed by Movember; rather, the moustache is used as a masculine, attention-grabbing, and comedic signifier. Movember's utilization of humour in its advertising is problematic when humour is used as an end, rather than a means to achieve social acceptance of prostate cancer discussions.

The promotional videos were found to exclusively display younger men and neglect older men who are the usual victims of prostate cancer, as there was no display of any male survivors or victims. A man participating in Movember needs to conform to the constructed identity of the Mo Bro who is an individualist, confident, and, most importantly, a hyper-masculine man. The Movember promotional videos reinforce a traditional and sexist understanding of men and women as entirely different, while positioning men as superior to women.

Movember's corporate sponsorships were found to reinforce stereotypical or classic masculinity. Rather than reasserting traditional notions of masculinity, the corporations should be working towards challenging those notions and working towards providing safe spaces for men to discuss health issues.

Movember's corporate sponsors were also found to be more interested in the comedic value of the moustache in an attempt to brand the company as masculine, and less interested in prostate cancer. Movember's corporate support is superficial, as the corporate sponsors have no commitment to prostate cancer and their affiliation completely terminates at the end of Movember.

Since prostate cancer is still a taboo subject, corporations are reticent to be associated with Movember, but they recognize it as a marketing opportunity to reach a coveted target audience. The corporate sponsors are solely interested in targeting young men, which overlooks the older men, many of whom are currently battling prostate cancer, and ignores women who are only targeted through cause-related marketing. Women are marginalized in Movember and encouraged to participate as mere consumers.

Both the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember corporate sponsors are strengthening the binary between women and men by emphasizing the differences between the genders. Corporate sponsors not only provide funds to make the events possible, but they also shape the events by stripping them of political and activist content, while also constructing the identities of participants.

In conclusion, if the goal of these organizations is to raise money, then they have achieved their goal because they have done an excellent job at raising funds for cancer research. However, if the organizations are to be held responsible for creating the public discourse surrounding the diseases, then a critical analysis of the particular narratives that are told needs to be done in order to understand what other narratives are excluded.

## **8.2 Discussion**

The CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember utilize marketing to create and support very gender-specific charitable brands. As a result, there are various divisions that are created among participants and onlookers. Instead of men and women working together with a common aim, men and women are polarized in their philanthropic efforts to better the community. It is especially important for these organizations not to return to sexist stereotypes of men and women as binary opposites. However, at this time, the differences

between men and women are highlighted, while the differences between different types of men and different types of women are nullified in the marketing of the events.

The CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember are trying to create brand differentiation between their organization and other charities. Even though there are problems in the representation and marketing of the charities, they cannot be overly criticized because they are the most successful fundraisers for their particular cause. The huge success of these organizations also means that breast cancer becomes *the* women's cancer and prostate cancer becomes *the* men's cancer. What happens when a man gets breast cancer, a woman gets lung cancer or any of the alternative types of cancer? A cancer victim then loses the public support and attention. Due to the pink culture, a woman who gets breast cancer may feel pressure/be encouraged to become more "feminine" than a woman who gets a different type of cancer. However, the whole concept of being more or less feminine/masculine when dealing with a deadly disease should be removed from discussion. What really matters is how happy and free a person is to express their true emotions when dealing with the disease. A focus on cheerfulness and femininity in the CIBC Run for the Cure, and a focus on humour and masculinity in Movember, are central to the organizations' marketing, but this practice excludes other emotional displays and gendered expressions.

It would be beneficial if the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember made a concerted effort to include men and women in the philanthropy in ways that are not purely symbolic. Men and women should be equal partners in fighting all forms of cancer because cancer does not only affect the victim, but it also affects the family and friends of that person. Within each charity there are changes that could be made to allow a more open and accepting environment for all people. I suggest that there should be a space for men and

women to voice their fears about breast cancer. Disease, cancer treatment, and death are all frightening events that a victim has to deal with; yet fear is completely removed from breast cancer fundraising. If victims had a space to voice their fears then the superficial layer of cheer would be removed and women's real concerns would be expressed. Of course, there is merit in the power of positive thought, but there is a problem when positivity clouds reality and people are not free to speak their mind about issues of concern. If people were more open about the fear they experience in dealing with breast cancer then it is possible that some corporations may pull their financial support because companies want to be aligned with a good cause that is also surrounded by happiness, rather than negative emotions. However, if a balance between an open and positive environment is created then there is no reason why corporate sponsors should not continue their support.

In a similar way, Movember's utilization of humour should be used as a way to give men's survivor narratives a safe space to be shared. Currently, humour is used as a tool to grab public and corporate interest, as well as a way to bring prostate cancer to the public's attention without actually discussing the disease. The first step has been taken by using humour to open the door to prostate cancer philanthropy, but now Movember needs to encourage male survivors to come forward with their experiences of prostate cancer so the veil of secrecy and shame can finally be removed.

Just as important as raising money for these causes, is the recognition that these organizations are creating the public discourse surrounding the diseases. People with prostate cancer and breast cancer need to feel that the events provide a supportive environment for all gendered and emotional expressions to be accepted.

It often seems that if an organization is successful then they should not change their methods; however, a critical perspective on analyzing these events would allow the organizations to continue to build on their past success while implementing positive changes. The goal of raising an increasing amount of money is important to support prevention, awareness, and research. Even if money is the chief objective, more money could be raised if the organizations allowed for a greater diversity in sexuality and emotionality because people who currently feel excluded from the pigeonholed description of a cancer philanthropist may join the awareness, fundraising, and activism if a more open space was created. Cancer does not discriminate based on age, sexuality, or race, and as such, the organizations should work to be as inclusive as the deadly diseases they are trying to conquer.

### **8.3 Further Research**

It must be reiterated that I make no claims that the findings are generalizable to anything outside of the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember; rather, what was sought was a founding in-depth comparative critical understanding of the two charitable fundraisers.

Most academic analysis of cancer philanthropy is focused on the American reality; however, Canadian cancer philanthropy represents a different avenue for investigation that requires additional critical analysis. A study analyzing the differences and similarities between international cancer campaigns would be useful in understanding how the gendered cancers are approached from an international perspective. The CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember were chosen as the focus of this research because they are the largest and most successful breast cancer and prostate cancer fundraisers in Canada; however, there are other

charitable organizations that also raise money for breast cancer and prostate cancer and, as such, there remains a wide range of topics to be explored.

As this thesis is the first academic analysis of Movember, there remain extensive areas of research that would lend themselves to further research from various theoretical and methodological perspectives. Rather than a complete, comprehensive analysis of Movember, this thesis is an introduction to a much larger topic that has yet to be explored. Since Movember is so new to the charitable landscape, it will be interesting to explore how it will develop as a more formal and stable charity; consequently, a longitudinal study to understand the charitable trajectory over time could be undertaken in the future. Breast cancer philanthropy, on the other hand, has been analyzed from various perspectives due its prominence in the charitable market and there will no doubt be a continuation of academic analysis.

Further research involving ethnographic studies of the two events would be beneficial in understanding participants' perspectives of the fundraisers. In-depth interviews with breast cancer survivors and prostate cancer survivors who participate in the events would also be valuable in understanding how the fundraising events are interpreted by those who are affected.

Considering that so much of the charitable identity of the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember is located online, it must be understood that each charity's identity can be as fluid as a person's gendered identity. Consequently, the charitable brand of both organizations may evolve, change, or remain constant, which means that a continued analysis will be required to understand the charitable brand of the CIBC Run for the Cure and Movember.

## TABLES

*Table 1. Breast Cancer and Prostate Cancer Statistics*

	<b>Breast Cancer</b>	<b>Prostate Cancer</b>
Total diagnosed/year	22,880	25,000
Deaths/year	5,450	4,400
Weekly diagnosed	437 women	490 men
Weekly deaths	104 women	85 men
Probability of getting cancer	1 in 9 women	1 in 7 men*
Probability of dying from cancer	1 in 28	1 in 27

Source: Canadian Cancer Society.

\*There is a discrepancy in the probability of prostate cancer: Canadian Cancer Society suggests 1 in 7 men and the Movember website suggests 1 in 6 men get prostate cancer.

## FIGURES

Figure 1. Breast cancer in African Americans

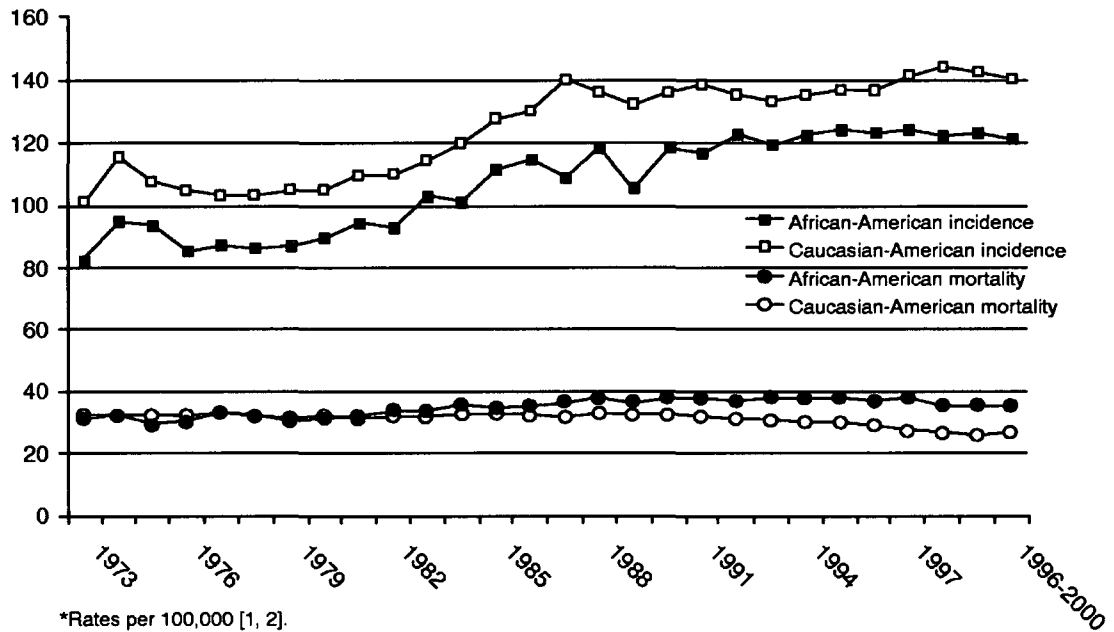


Figure 2. Movember style guide

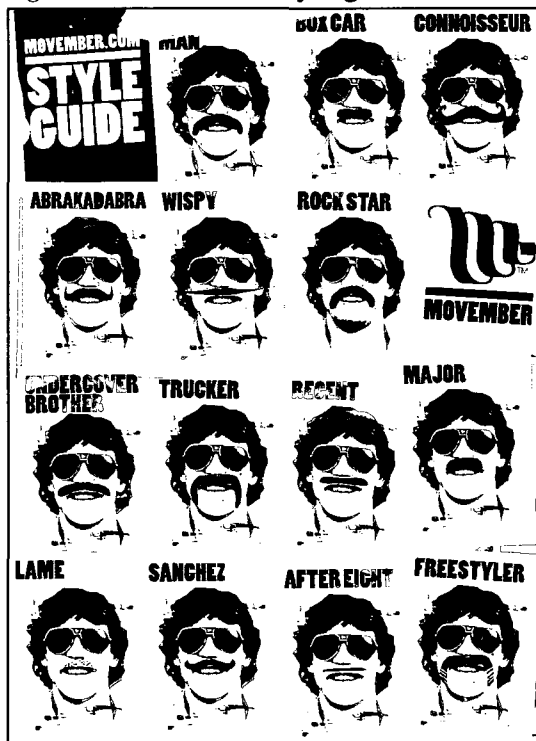




Figure 3. Bearded lady

**Wonderful! Wonderful! Wonderful!**  
 So says the Beholder on visiting the Pavilion adjoining the Large  
 Circus Tent.

**BEHOLD THE FIRST OF ALL  
 MAD. REBECCA LYON  
 THE WONDERFUL  
 BEARDED LADY!**

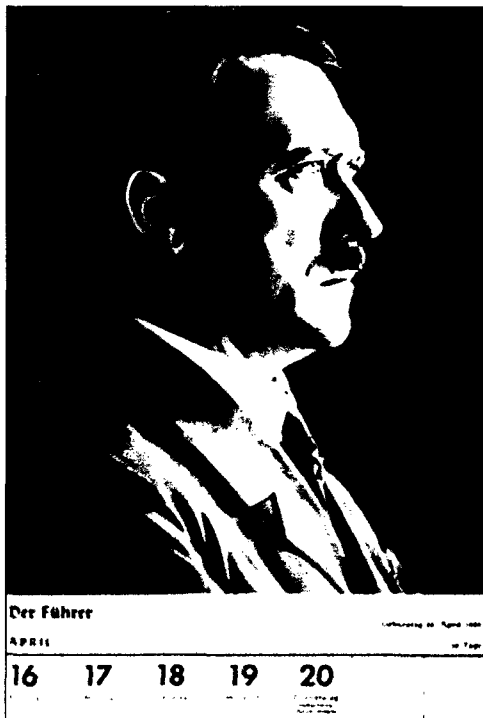
Madame Lyon was born in the City of New  
 York, and is now  
**85 YEARS OF AGE.**  
 Her beard was first discovered to grow about  
 four years ago, and she now has a very fine  
**BEARD AND MUSTACHE**  
 As heavy as any man's, notwithstanding every  
 effort has been made, and the science and skill of  
 both Europe and America have been called upon  
 to suppress its growth, every effort has failed.  
 She has been visited by the most eminent  
 Physicians of both hemispheres who have done  
 all that  
**ART AND SCIENCE**  
 could suggest, but to no purpose. Every one  
 acknowledges her the  
**GREATEST CURIOSITY OF THIS AGE.**



Figure 4. Moustache removal



Figure 5. Adolf Hitler moustache



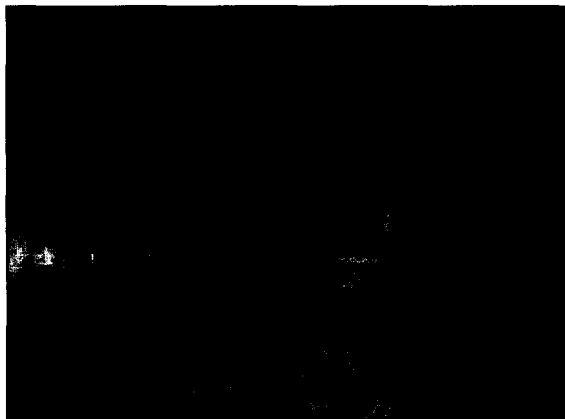
*Figure 6. The Handlebar Club*



*Figure 7. The Beatles moustache*



*Figure 8. Clone style moustache*



*Figure 9.* Bears moustache



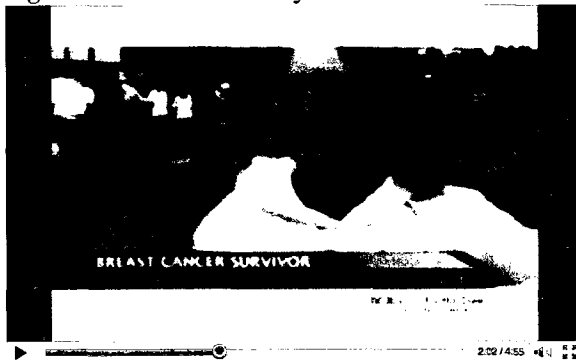
*Figure 10.* Hipster moustache



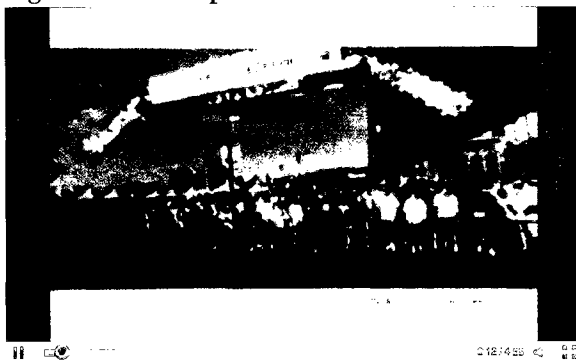
*Figure 11.* Movember moustache



*Figure 12. Individuality – CIBC Run for the Cure*



*Figure 13. Groups – CIBC Run for the Cure*



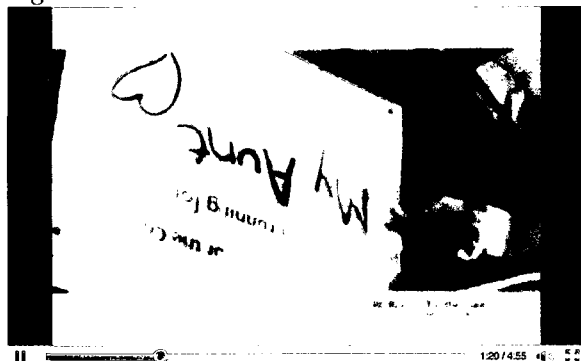
*Figure 14. Tears – CIBC Run for the Cure*



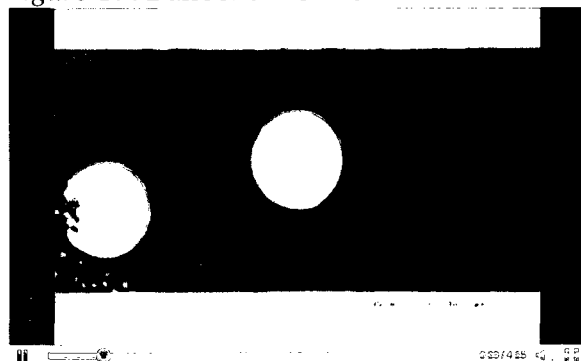
*Figure 15. Cheer – CIBC Run for the Cure*



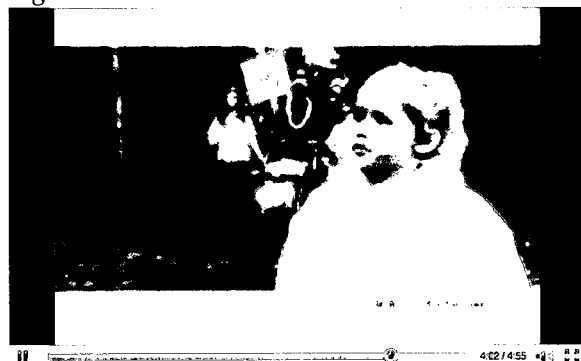
*Figure 16. Hearts – CIBC Run for the Cure*



*Figure 17. Balloons – CIBC Run for the Cure*



*Figure 18. Children – CIBC Run for the Cure*



*Figure 19. Dogs – CIBC Run for the Cure*



Figure 20. Transformation – Movember



Figure 21. Individuality - Movember



Figure 22. Aggression – Movember

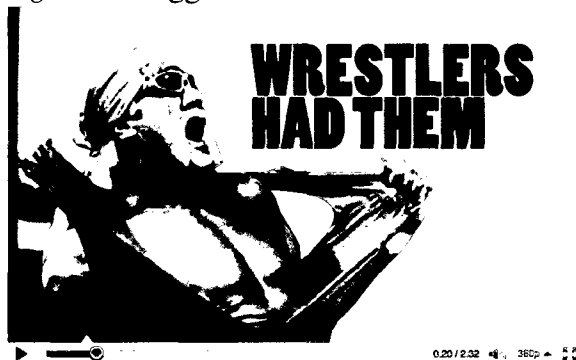
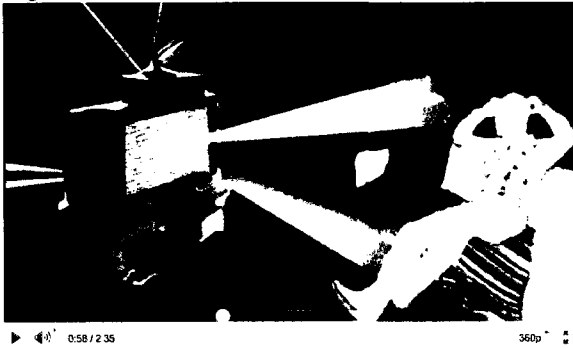


Figure 23. Heterosexuality – Movember



*Figure 24. Male transformation – Movember*



*Figure 25. Women – Movember*



*Figure 26. Diversity – Movember*



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## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix A: Movember Canada Promotional Video 2007 (3:00)**

*\*There is no speech in this video; rather, the text appears in graphic form.*

Mo Man is an Island

Movember is a mindset, journey and destination

The Movember mindset

Movember is positive and fun

The mindset is a collective one

Movember Times: 1 in 8 men will develop prostate cancer

It's a celebration of the Mo and doing something proactive for a serious cause

Movember is a journey

The journey is the reward

A month long journey of supporting the cause

Movember Times: 4,300 Canadian men die from prostate cancer every year

Celebrate the mateship

Balance emotion

Fire the spirit

Grow a Mo

Highlight men's health

Movember is a destination

Movember: Welcome to the Republic of Movember

The magical, mystical place. A surreal environment with tangible outcomes. It has an inner peace and a sense of place. Once visited, never forgotten. Grow a Mo and help us change the face of men's health.

Beneficiary partners: Prostate Cancer research foundation of Canada.

Major sponsors: (Playboy bunny), LAB Series: Skincare for men.

Citizens of Movember unite and let's make men aware of the very real health issues they face

Become a citizen of Movember by registering at [Movember.com](http://Movember.com)

[Movember.com](http://Movember.com)

## **Appendix B: Movember Canada Promotional Video 2008 (2:35)**

*Man (voiceover):* “If there are strands of hair, which are uncontestable hair, is in itself a perplexing situation.”

*Woman (voiceover):* “It kind of is the talk of the town right now.”

*Man (voiceover):* “Hombre, yo supongo que me sorprendio porque yo pense: ‘Esto no es normal’, no?” (Man, I imagine it took me by surprise, because I thought: ‘This is not normal,’ right?)

*\*The following is not spoken; rather, the text appears in graphic form.*

Prepare to be transformed

From every corner of the globe

Sightings of the extraordinary

The hope and excitement of a sighting

What are these extraordinary sightings

Global registrations 2007: 134, 171

Money raised globally: \$21,000,000

Mo Bros and Mo Sistas unite

We believe in growing a moustache

The cure is still out there

“Prostate cancer will strike one in seven men”

“All men over the age of 40 are potentially at risk and should talk to their doctor about regular annual testing”

“4,300 Canadian men will die from prostate cancer this year”

We believe in changing men’s health



We believe something greater exists

Join the movement – Movember.com

We believe the truth is out there

They walk among us

United we believe. Movember

Beneficiary partners: Prostate Cancer research foundation of Canada

Major sponsors: Canadian Club, Philips

Register online at Movember.com

Grow a moustache. Help the fight against prostate cancer

Become one of them

Movember

Movember.com

## **Appendix C: Movember Canada Promotional Video 2009 (2:32)**

Man (*voiceover*): Movember changing the face of men's health.

Proudly partnering with, and raising funds for, Prostate Cancer Canada.

Sports stars had them...

Educated people had them...

Movie stars had them...

Rock stars had them...

Wrestlers had them...

This Movember men from across the globe will have them.

The Mo, a slang for moustache, and November come together to create Movember where we challenge men to grow a moustache for the fight against prostate cancer.

Mo Bros, the guys growing a moustache, register at [Movember.com](http://Movember.com).

Mo Bros start Movember first clean shaven and they have the rest of the month to grow and flow their Mo while raising awareness and funds for the fight against prostate cancer.

While growing a Mo is left to the men, Mo Sistas, ladies who support their guys or just love moustaches, form an important part of Movember by recruiting Mo Bros, helping to raise funds, and attending the highly anticipated, end of Movember, Gala Partés.

Movember Gala Partés will be held across Canada.

Each Mo Bro dressed in costume to best suit his moustache will come together to celebrate their Movember journey.

Strutting their stuff in front of an expert panel, vying for their chance to win The Man of Movember title.

So why bring back the moustache?

To change the face of men's health.

1 in 6 men will be diagnosed with prostate cancer.

It is the most common cancer to afflict Canadian men and 4,400 men will die of the disease this year.

The motivation behind Movember is to bring much needed awareness to prostate cancer and to raise funds for Prostate Cancer Canada. Prostate Cancer Canada uses funds raised through Movember for the development of programs related to awareness, public education, and support of those affected and research into the prevention, detection, treatment, and cure of prostate cancer.

Every moustache makes a difference. Register now at [Movember.com](http://Movember.com).

Together we can change the face of men's health.

## **Appendix D: CIBC Run for the Cure Promotional Video 2007 (6:24)**

Breast cancer is the most common form of cancer among Canadian women.

*Woman 1 (voiceover):* You never know.

*Man 1 (voiceover):* She is my best friend.

*Woman 2 (voiceover):* My mother died from it.

*Woman 3 (voiceover):* She went through so much.

One in nine women is expected to develop breast cancer during her lifetime.

*Man 2 (voiceover):* We are not alone.

*Woman 4 (voiceover):* And I am still here.

*Woman 5 (voiceover):* It is someone's mother, someone's aunt, someone's grandmother.

*Woman 6 (voiceover):* My life changed forever.

This year, over 22,000 will be diagnosed...5,300 will die.

Mothers. Daughters. Fathers. Wives. Friends. CIBC Run for the Cure: Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation.

Beginning in 1992...more than 1 million people across Canada...have run or walked for a cure to create a better future...without breast cancer.

*Woman 7 (voiceover):* Breast cancer is a disease that affects thousands of Canadians per year. Individuals, teams, communities and the corporate sector are coming together for one day at over 50 sites throughout the country to support one cause.

*Woman 8:* I was diagnosed when I was 36, so that was 20 years ago. I had two little children. My mother had just died from breast cancer and I thought I was going to be next.

*Woman 9:* It is a life-long journey. I mean, even though they are gone, we are still here in support of them and then supporting those who are still going through it.

*Woman 7 (voiceover):* Every Canadian, regardless of age or ability can participate in this inspirational event. The Run is not about how far or how fast you go. It is about hope for a future without this disease. You can make a difference by contributing to research that will change the future for the 1 in 9 Canadian women expected to be diagnosed with breast cancer in her lifetime.

*Group:* 5,4,3,2,1, Go.

*Woman 10:* We are all here for one main goal and that is to find a cure for breast cancer.

*Woman 11:* Every dollar counts. Basically, for people like my mom or all the other people who are going to be diagnosed or will be, it is basically to help them get through it.

*Woman 12:* I am running for everyone. Every woman, every mother, every grandmother, every kid, everybody.

*Man 3:* I am here to remember the ones who are lost and fight for the ones who are here.

*Woman 13:* I am here to prove to the people that together we can make a difference.

*Woman 7 (voiceover):* Thousands of Canadians are touched by breast cancer every year. It impacts the people living with the disease, their families, friends, and loved ones. With your support, we are making progress...and making news.

*Man 4 (news anchor):* Thousands of people took to the rainy cold streets of Calgary yesterday to help create a future without breast cancer.

*Woman 14 (news anchor):* Despite the rain, a record 13,000 thousand people came out in Ottawa...

*Woman 15 (news anchor):* A sea of runners took the streets of Vancouver this morning...

*Woman 16 (news anchor):* Thousands of people walk and ran through Edmonton...

*Woman 17 (news anchor):* Today, the focus was on hope and running for a cure...

*Man 5: (French)*

*Woman 18 (news anchor):* This year, Runs are taking place in over 50 communities across the country...

*Woman 19 (news anchor):* This group was brought together by a cause that was close to their hearts...

*Man 6 (news anchor):* Friends and relatives proudly honoured the lives of their loved ones. For those who have lost.

*Man 7 (boy):* I hope that one day we will find a cure for breast cancer, so no one else needs to suffer like my nanny and my aunt.

For those who have survived.

*Woman 20:* This run is important because it gives us hope. It gives all survivors hope and not just survivors, but the families, hope and it enables us to do something for the cause, to support the research that is so vital to us.

For those who are living with breast cancer.

*Woman 21:* This incredible group of women has raised over \$12,800.

You can make a difference.

*Woman 7 (voiceover):* You can make a difference. Join your friends, family, and community on September 30, 2007.

On September 30, 2007. Who are you running for?

Thank you to our 2006 National Sponsors: CIBC, Ford, Nygard, Running Room, McCain, Ganong, New Balance, Revlon, Canpar.

## **Appendix E: CIBC Run for the Cure Promotional Video 2008 (4:42)**

CIBC Run for the Cure: Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation

1 in 9 Canadian women is expected to develop breast cancer during her lifetime.

*Woman 1 (voiceover):* Breast cancer is the most commonly diagnosed cancer in Canadian women today. This year over 22,000 women in Canada will be diagnosed with the disease. This is one reason why so many are inspired to come together and take part in the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation CIBC Run for the Cure.

*Woman 2:* You know, when cancer hits you it's a very difficult thing and you get through it because you have support. Can you beat this? Not at all. You know, this is the best.

*Woman 1 (voiceover):* Who are you running for?

*Woman 3:* Oh, I am running for friend Pressie who is a survivor, you know, for the past two years.

*Woman 4:* For my mom, for myself, for my kids, and for future generations.

*Woman 5:* Number 1, Linda (*muffled voices and laughter*).

*Woman 6:* Both my mom and my sister, my daughter's young friend only 28 years old. She only recently finished her radiation and is on her way to recovery herself.

*Woman 7:* Our friend is going through breast cancer right now. She is going through radiation. So we are running for Tammy. She's awesome.

*Woman 8:* I am running for my mom. She battled breast cancer for 29 years and she died this year on February 14th (*tears*).

*Woman 9 (interviewer):* And how does it feel to be here today?

*Woman 8:* I think she is very proud. She was running with me today, yeah.

*Woman 1 (voiceover):* We all have a reason to run.

*Woman 10:* There is not one of us that haven't had a close family member and I had one who just passed away at the end of May, so, that's my mum (*tears*). It means a lot.

*Woman 11:* You know six months ago I couldn't walk down the street from my place so this has been an accomplishment for me, as well as everyone who is here.

Group voiceover: 5,4,3,2,1 (*horn*).

*Woman 12:* It is the largest single day fundraising event for breast cancer research in Canada.

*Woman 13 (news anchor voiceover):* It happened in 53 communities across the country, including right here in Winnipeg.

*Man 1 (news anchor voiceover):* More than 12,000 people hit Calgary streets yesterday.

*Woman 14 (news anchor):* Today thousands of people in Barrie did what tens of thousands of people did across the country.

*Woman 15 (voiceover):* 30,000 runners and walkers hit the streets hoping to find a cure for breast cancer.

*Woman 1 (voiceover):* We run for hope. We run for research. We run for a future where no mother, daughter, sister, husband or friend will lose a loved one to breast cancer.

*Man 2:* I think regardless of whether you know someone in your immediate family or friends, I think it is just a worthy cause. It is good to give.

*Woman 16:* It is such an uplifting experience. It is really wonderful. It just warms the heart.

*Woman 17:* But hopefully we won't have to do it anymore.

*Woman 18:* We really want the next generation to not know what 1 in 9 means. We both have daughters, yeah, so we are walking for them too.



*Woman 19:* It is really wonderful to see all the great groups of people and all the different mixtures of people gathered together for something as great as this. I think it is awesome that there are so many people here.

*Woman 1 (voiceover):* With your help, dollar by dollar, step by step, we can create a future without breast cancer.

*Woman 20:* We have raised about \$2,500 which Telus is going to proudly match through...

*Woman 21:* I raised \$250, but I think as a team we raised \$1000.

*Woman 22:* We raised approximately \$12,000.

*Woman 23:* I get so emotional when I'm here to see everybody: the survivors, the young people that come out to support. I am speechless when I get here actually. It is just totally overwhelming (*cheers, hugs and tears*).

*Woman 1 (voiceover):* Those who have participated in the Run know that it is more than just a run: it is an experience like no other. Be a part of this powerful movement of people coming together to make a difference at this inspiring event. On Sunday October 5<sup>th</sup>, who are you running for?

Thank you to our 2007 National Run Sponsors: CIBC, Ford, Nygard, Running Room, McCain, Ganong, New Balance, Revlon, Canpar.

Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation. [www.cbcbf.org](http://www.cbcbf.org).

## **Appendix F: CIBC Run for the Cure Promotional Video 2009 (4:54)**

*Group: 5,4,3,2,1 (horn).*

*Woman 1 (voiceover):* I remember when I heard that mom had breast cancer. We had just got home from school and dad sat us down on the couch and told us. My sister started to cry. I just sat there staring at my hands, trying to imagine...

*Man 1 (voiceover):* ...how my life would be without her. Of course, I, I knew there was a good chance that she could beat it. She was a strong woman, but I, I just couldn't help but...

*Woman 2 (voiceover):* ...worry. Was I going to lose my best friend to breast cancer, someone who is like a sister to me? I was aware of the statistics, but I hoped that my friend would get better. I decided to get involved: to offer my time and energy to the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation CIBC Run for the Cure. She meant so much to me. We had known each other since we were little girls. When we were growing up...

*Man 2 (voiceover):* ...my aunt was one of my favourite people. I had to do something to help. I encouraged my friends to put together teams, and I started one of my own. I thought it would be really difficult to get people to donate, but it was no problem at all, and then I found out that my registration fee was waived once I hit \$150, which was easy to get to. Pretty cool. When I went online I discovered that there was already a huge network there. There were lots of people to chat with, lots of support groups and forums to get involved in. I had no idea. I was...

*Woman 3 (voiceover):* ...excited to get to the Run. I had seen stuff on the news before, and I knew it was a big deal but I had no idea.

*Woman 4 (survivor):* I'm a breast cancer survivor and I just had surgery 3 weeks ago. It's just nice to know that there is so much support.

*Man 3:* There are literally hundreds of volunteers who make this work.

*Woman 5:* You have everyone coming out in pink and showing their support for breast cancer research and awareness.

*Woman 6, (reporter):* Across the country the total is 28...

*Woman 7 (voiceover):* There was like a crazy amount of people. It was really cool to be part of it. Everywhere I looked people were celebrating and excited. They were all dressed up in bright pink wigs and costumes. It didn't feel the way I thought it would. I remember at first I was worried that there would be too much for mom, too emotional, but it was really supportive. I looked to my...

*Man 4 (voiceover):* ...right and my wife beside me, a look of joy on her face. Together we beat them. All around me were survivors or people running or walking for those who couldn't run for themselves. I was excited to cross the finish line with them. To hear their stories, share their tears, and laughter. I was surprised by the...

*Woman 8 (voiceover):* ...rawness of emotion, the sense of community, and the strong bond I felt with people I had just met. As I walked, I thought about all the research that had been done over the years and all the money that had been raised by groups big and small. I thought about how happy I was to be participating and supporting my best friend: about how important it is to do it year after year. Everywhere I looked...

*Man 5 (voiceover):* ...there were people who were all here for the same reason. They had signs on the backs of their shirts saying who they were running for. I realized that my aunt

was not alone. She had her family, but she was also part of something much bigger: a family that spanned the country, a family that keeps on running.

*Group:* We are all connected.

*Woman 9 (voiceover):* Register today for the Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation CIBC

Run for the Cure and help us take another step towards the finish line.

*Woman 10 (voiceover):* On Sunday October 4th, who are you running for?